

COMMUNITY FORMATION UNDER NEOLIBERAL URBAN
TRANSFORMATION

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF URBAN POLCY PLANNING AND LOCAL
GOVERNMENTS

JUNE 2022

Approval of the thesis:

**COMMUNITY FORMATION UNDER NEOLIBERAL URBAN
TRANSFORMATION**

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ABSTRACT

COMMUNITY FORMATION UNDER NEOLIBERAL URBAN TRANSFORMATION

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M.S., The Department of Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Nil UZUN

June 2022, 100 pages

This thesis main question is based on how the formulations of “community” have been taking shape under neoliberal urban transformation in the case of Çiğdem Neighborhood and Şirindere. It questions the meaning of community, how community formation under neoliberal urban transformation differs from traditional community formation. Within this scope, it explores to the reason why advanced marginalized groups as a social entity was born within neoliberal economy polices cannot be defines as “community”. The data is based on the observations and experiences of the researcher for 8 months long, and from the observations and experiences of five interviewees The main findings of the thesis display the formulations of “community” under neoliberal urban transformation have been shaped with reference to three main axes such as exclusionary mechanisms (boundary drawing), relational setting of belonging, within the agency. In addition, this thesis aims at contributing to further studies to explore the role of ““common spaces” on community formation under neoliberal community formation

Keywords: community, boundary work, advanced marginalization

ÖZ

NEOLIBERAL KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜM SÜREÇLERİNDE TOPLULUK OLUŞUMU

ERGENEKON Elif Dila

Yüksek Lisans, Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler Bölümü

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Haziran 2022, 100 sayfa

Bu tezin ana sorusu, Çiğdem Mahallesi ve Şirindere örneğinde neoliberal kentsel dönüşüm altında “topluluk” formülasyonlarının nasıl şekillendiğine dayanmaktadır. Topluluğun anlamını, neoliberal kentsel dönüşüm altında topluluk oluşumunun geleneksel topluluk oluşumundan nasıl farklı olduğunu sorgular. Ayrıca bu kapsamda, ileri marjinal grupların neoliberal ekonomi politikaları ile doğan bir sosyal bir varlık olarak neden “topluluk” olarak tanımlanamayacağını araştırmaktadır. Veriler, araştırmacının 8 aylık gözlem ve deneyimlerine ve görüşülen beş kişinin gözlem ve deneyimlerine dayanmaktadır. Araştırma sonucunda neoliberal topluluk oluşum formülasyonları 3 ana ekseninde belirlenmiştir; dışlayıcı mekanizmalar (sınır çizimi), kuruluş ihtiyacı ve aidiyet hissini kuran ilişkilendirmeler.

Anahtar Kelimeler: topluluk, ileri marjinaller, dışlayıcı mekanizmalar

To all lovely children who used to live in Şirindere

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to express my gratitude to my advisor Nil Uzun for her guidance, support, kindness, patience, and encouragement from the beginning of my master thesis and during my writing process. She has always been tolerant towards me all along the line. I appreciate all her contributions of time and ideas. I also would like to thank to Mustafa Kemal Bayırbağ and Deniz Altay Kaya for joining my defense committee, all of their valuable comments and feedbacks and the time they patiently devoted.

Secondly, I would like to thank to all members of Şirindere Rhythm Group inspiring this thesis and ÇiğdemMIM which gave me chance to be part of extraordinary Şirindere Rhythm Group. Special thanks to Saliha Kılıç, Selma Kılıç and Müjdem Demet Eraykurtlar Yücelgen for helping me and supporting me with their lovely hearts during my field process in Çiğdem Neighborhood.

Third, I would like to thank my psychologist Banu Yılmaz who I am consulting her one and half year now. She teaches me how to behave towards myself and guides me how to discover myself patiently. She helped me in feeling more confident in my life path. Thanks to her, I am thanked to all my past experiences which has provided me to meet with her.

Fourth, I am so happy to have these beautiful women in my live- Ayşe, Damla, Yağmur, Sanem ve Nihan, Ayşe and Nihan are joining in my life path for 14 years, even though I feel older than them, they always know how to make my mood lifted. I am so enamored of spending my time with you and I always will. Damla shows me that when you strike up a friendship with someone from the depth of your hearts, your close companionship continues no matter how much distance between you you have. I am so grateful to Sanem's companionate lovely hearth, not only towards myself, but also towards everyone, and also to her for making me feel at home whenever I am next to her. Yağmur is the one who I really love to discuss about our existential problems,

and I have learned to many things from her and I am still learning, her contributions to my life cannot be expressible. Thank you all for not giving up motivating me, listening to me and being a close friend with me. The world becomes much more beautiful with you.

Last but not the least, I am thankful my family for their wholehearted love and support. I am so glad to have you. My grandma, your lovely wishes put teeth into me to keep going. Your love is magic for me, thank you, thank you ... My dad, you are a special and unique dad, I really love that though. I feel so lucky to make endless discussions about philosophy with you, and also your enormous intellectual knowledge always make me surprised. Mom, I love you and thank you for everything. I am so lucky to have you. I could not write this thesis without your support, love and caring. You are an amazing person and mom. Your advice and feedbacks always make my life easier and my path brighter. My words are not enough to express my gratitude towards you...

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

One, two, three, four ...
Earth, Sky!
Five, six ...
Paradise, Hell!
Seven, eight, nine, ten ...
You must know to move your feet
In hopscotch, or in life
you can choose one day.
Why edge, from which side will you jump?

Gotan Project / Hopscotch (*is translated from Rayuela/Gotan Project*)

These words are the refrain, performed by the children's choir, of the song named as *Rayuela of Gota Project*. This refrain talks through a person who stands on threshold in between hell and heaven, it tells this person that in the time to come, s/he can choose the side which s/he wants to be. This song reminds me the society and our cities because there are such divisions within them. While one side of the division resembles to heaven, the other side resembles to hell. In other words, the representations, and examples of such a division are not only observed our individual life, but also observed in the society, our cities etc. For example, on one side there is poverty, on the other side there is wealth; on one side there are criminalized advanced marginalized groups, on the other side there are beautiful, lovely, safe communities or innocents; on one side there are lux high-rise buildings, on the other side there are *gecekondus*. Beyond my observations, it clearly is seen that the allegory of hell for slum areas, and of heaven for “community” are used in academic literature (Wacquant 1999, Baumann 2000) by discussing on the concept of community and the concept of criminalized-advanced marginalization.

1.1. Overview of Study

Four years ago, I had encountered the experience of juxtaposed living of two different social entities that there was a yearning gap between them in terms of their socio-economic, cultural status. The yearning gap between their living conditions of these entities were similar to the gap between hell and heaven. In fact, this experience was exactly just one of the examples above.

When I was living in 100.Yıl neighborhood during the years between 2016-2020, I started to notice paper collectors in streets of neighborhood, in front of supermarkets, and near waste containers of the neighborhood. These paper collectors were mostly children. Regardless of age, the strongest among them were carrying paper collection trolley while the others were supporting him (mostly Male children) to collect papers. I sometimes witnessed that moms and dads were collecting papers while their children were walking around them. In addition to collecting paper, mostly children were panhandling or asking whoever in the street to do shopping for them. This was a brutal photograph of urban marginalization in Turkey.

After a while, I had learnt that these children and their families were living in derelict houses in the valley named as Şirindere, in Çiğdem Neighborhood that adjacent to 100.Yıl Neighborhood. This meant that the slums and the sites constructed for middle classes and upper middle classes were located side to side; in other words, advanced marginalized groups and middle-class groups were living side to side. In the period between 2017- 2020 ÇiğdeMİM which is neighborhood community organization of Çiğdem Neighborhood, had organized Rhythm Course for children who live in Şirindere. I have also attended to this course as a volunteer in the years between 2018 – 2019. My personal intent to participate this course was to understand those children, their living conditions and to have an unconditional, equal relation with them. During my personal experiences in this field for 8 months. I explicitly witnessed how the people living in Şirindere have suffered from their harsh living conditions, and how they were discriminated from the society. I witnessed the conflict between Şirindere and Çiğdem Neighborhood etc. I witnessed people who used to live in Şirindere knew that they were unwanted by Çiğdem Community, and children also knew this reality, I witnessed that people who live in Çiğdem Neighborhood were afraid of people living in Şirindere because of criminal activities in Şirindere.

This juxtaposition was an outcome of neoliberal urban transformation in Turkey. The consequences of this juxtaposition have been experienced in different ways by people living

in Şirindere and Çiğdem community. This juxtaposition, on the one hand, has caused and piled up the conflict between these social entities; on the other hand, it has produced cross-class practices as practice of accepting differences. In fact, it was quite interesting the contradicting consequences of “community” have been performed by interweaving each other in the relations between Şirindere and Çiğdem Community.

Firstly, the area of Çiğdem Neighborhood used to be located on the periphery of Ankara but due to the growth of Ankara, this area became a part of the city in the through time. After the expropriation of Yalıncağ Village in 1970s, Orta Doğu Çamlık Sitesi and ODTÜ Houses were constructed in pasture are of Yalıncağ Village. The development of area in the east side of Şirindere began in 1980s. Çiğdem Neighborhood is planned as a satellite town and it is designated as a residential area. In 1980s, there were few *gecekondu*s in the area, those were shattered; instead, high rise buildings, gated communities were built for middle income groups, in which bureaucrats, academicians, students live etc. (one by one, Dünya Vadi housing estate as numbered 1, Park housing estate as numbered 2 and Başkent housing estate as numbered 3 and Bilim housing estate as numbered 4 in the Figure 1) In the beginning of 2000s, the construction of these estates was completed. In brief, Çiğdem Neighborhood, even today, can be described as a neighborhood where middle income groups, and mostly social democrats live Erman and Çoşkun-Yıldar (2007) includes fragmented and enclosed sites, has a neighborhood organization named as ÇiğdeMİM, and has common places such as Can Yücel Park, the meeting hall of ÇiğdeMİM.

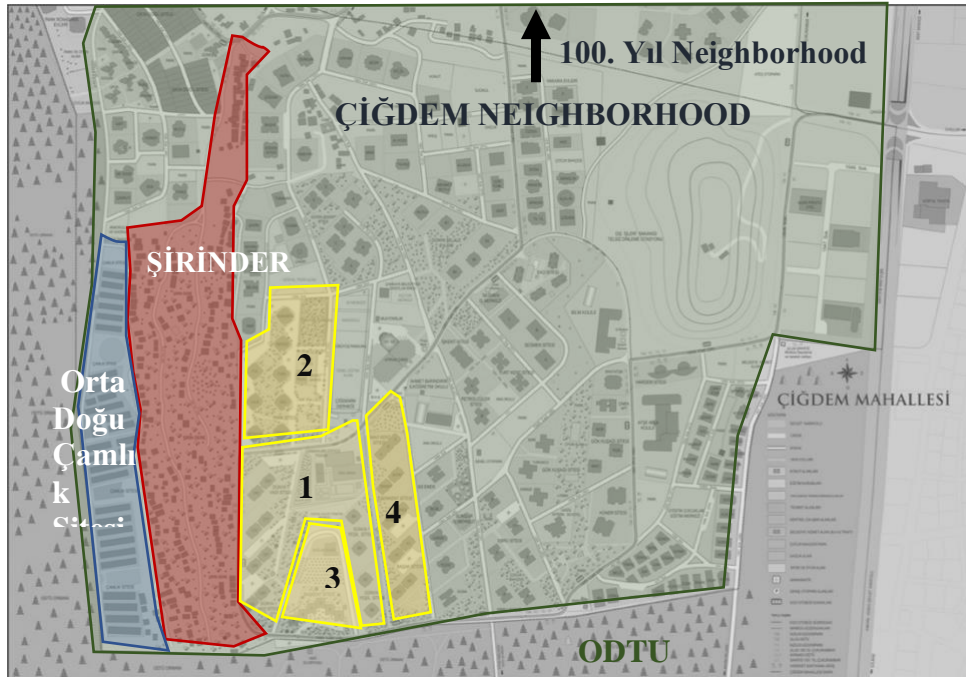


Figure 1.1. The map of Çiğdem Neighborhood and Şirindere taken from https://www.cigdemim.org.tr/?page_id=15

Secondly, the valley called as “Şirindere” used to be named as “Karakusunlar Village”. Because of the urban growth, this village was transformed to “Karakusunlar Neighborhood”. I have personally witnessed that some residents of Çiğdem Neighborhood nostalgically speak of “Karakusunlar Neighborhood”. For example, they were talking about how wonderful the nature of Karakusunlar Village and there are whisperings about its original name “Karakusunlar” was given Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Moreover, Elvan Akbay, living in Orta Doğu Çamlık Sitesi since 1991, mentions “Karakusunlar” in her writing about Şirindere, published in e-journal of ÇiğdeMİM on 9th December 2020 as follows:

“When I started to live in this area in 1991, we had lovely neighbors from the other side of the hedge. As the matter of fact that when there was no grocery market in our site, I remember that I had passed to the side of Karakusunlar for shopping.” (url1: <https://www.cigdemim.org.tr/?p=13058>, 09.12.2020)”

Yet, according to Elvan Akbay’s argument, their lovely neighbors from Karakusunlar had deserted their home at one night. The mukhtar of Çiğdem Neighborhood and the head of ÇiğdeMİM affirms her argument. The mukhtar of Çiğdem Neighborhood claims that they might desert their home because of the rumors about the Urban Transformation Project that was going to be implemented in Karakusunlar after the declaration of “Risky Area”. There were around 200 houses. After these deserted houses stayed empty for a while, Elvan Akbay states that these houses were occupied by the *strangers in 2012*. Since this transformation, this area lost its feature as being “Karakusunlar Neighborhood” for the inhabitants of Çiğdem Neighborhood and Orta Doğu Çamlık Sitesi. This area was started to be called as only Şirindere.

1.2. Aim of the Thesis and Analysis of The Historical Process of Çiğdem Neighborhood and Şirindere

Depending upon my attendance to and observations on the experiences of juxtaposed living of people living in Şirindere and Çiğdem community, a basis of the main research question of thesis was formed. In this regard, the main research question of thesis is how “community”

exists under neoliberal urban transformation, in relation to how community formation under neoliberal urban transformation has an impact on advanced marginalized groups.

The concept of “community” includes contrasting concepts within. On the one hand, it creates inclusion, sense of belonging, a civil right movement. On the other hand, it causes exclusions, labeling, stigmatizations, conflict. To discover all answers to these questions above, the theoretical understanding of “community” is required.

In this sense, Blokland (2017, 7:16) states that

community’ has high currency in social policy and politics, especially when it becomes **the secret weapon against all sorts of ‘evils’**, from neighborhood disadvantage, poverty and unemployment to child behavioral problems and crime in cities. Turning to community-based solutions can be seen as conservative politics – a retreat from national problems (Fisher and Romanofsky 1981: xii). In such policies, community becomes the equivalent of a type of social cohesiveness in families, neighborhoods and cities that should provide the social capital and collective efficacy to make problems go away (on social capital, see Blokland and Savage 2008; on urban change and social capital, see Blokland and Rae 2008).

However,

The need for community seems everywhere. Urban planners need to work with ‘the community’; policy interventions need support from ‘the community’; activists organize protests on behalf of ‘the community. Housing movements and civil rights movements organize protests through community. Identity politics resurrect an interest in community. (Blokland 2017, 7:16)

To gain understanding conditions which had caused to the juxtaposed living experience of Çiğdem Community and Şirindere as a criminalized advanced marginalized group and outcomes of this experience, the historical analysis of process of urban transformation of Şirindere and Çiğdem Neighborhood is required to be examined. Furthermore, the historical analysis demonstrates underlying reasons of transformation of the relation between Çiğdem Neighborhood and Şirindere. Therefore, Table 1, as seen below, displays the historical analysis of process of Urban Transformation of Çiğdem Neighborhood and Şirindere in the years between 1950 -2021.

Before that, it is necessary to analyze historical process of urban change of Çiğdem Neighborhood and Şirindere since dispersed, fragmented urban transformation is observed in this area. Table 1 is created taking account of historical process of urban marginalization in Turkey. In this regard, Mercan and Şen (2021, pg.610) separate the historical background as

populist urban coalition from 1960s until 1980¹ and neoliberal urban coalition after 1980² by drawing attention to changed governmental policies and the relation between capital and urban land.

Table 1.2

The Historical Analysis of Process of Urban Transformation of Çiğdem Neighborhood and Şirindere in The Years Between 1950-2021³

PERIOD	YEARS	ÇİĞDEM	
		NEIGHBORHOOD	ŞİRINDERE
POPULIST URBAN COALITION	1950- 1980	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Migration from rural areas - Migration from Altındağ and Yenidoğan Neighborhood, the means of living of newcomers was from dairy farming 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Karakusunlar Village was located in Şirindere Valley. - In 1970s, the area of Yalıncağ Village was expropriated so that some inhabitants of Yalıncağ Village moved to Karakusunlar Villlage

¹ Populist Urban Coalition:

In the period of 1960s-1970s, an era of national protectionism and developmentalism, whereby import substitution industrialization was adopted as the economic model. The squatter population provided cheap labor for the private sector and potential votes for populist politics in larger cities, in return, the squatter settlements were allowed to resolve the issue of affordable housing for the urban poor (Merçan and Şen 2021, pg.610)

² Neoliberal Urban Coalition:

Turkey and the demands of the bourgeoisie, and it was put into force by the 12th of September 1980 coup that repressed the working-class movement. The coup resulted in the shift from the national protectionist import substitution model to export-oriented industrialization, characterized by deregulation, privatization, and the decline of social welfare protection. Turkey's integration into neoliberal global capitalism and the dominance of market forces and values completely changed the state's approach to urban land and squatter housing from the 1980s. This era replaced the populist urban coalition with a neoliberal one, commodifying urban land for those original settlers possessing land titles and clearing a path for rent appropriation by big capital. This period of the 'neoliberal urban coalition' excluded the urban poor from the negotiations over urban land, instead involving property market agents including large-scale construction firms, financiers at domestic and international levels, and real estate investment trusts, as well as local municipalities, and TOKİ" (Merçan and Şen 2021, pg.610)

³ This table 1 displays the historical background of Çiğdem Neighborhood and Şirindere, made by the researcher by combining different academic research and the researcher's ethnographic studies in the field between 1950-1991

Table 1.2 continued

<p>POPULIST URBAN COALITION</p>	<p>1950- 1980</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There were Çiğdem TepeGecekondu.Settlements in the area - The Construction of Ankara Science High School in 1961 - The area of Orta Doğu Çamlık Sitesi was the pasture area of Yalıncağ Village - After the expropriation of Yalıncağ Village in 1970s, Orta Doğu Çamlık Sitesi and ODTÜ Houses was constructed in pasture areas of Yalıncağ Village by cooperatives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In the second half of 1970s, the gecekondus started to be built by people who came from Erzurum to work in the construction of working-class houses in 100.Yıl Neighborhood (because of the proximity between Şirindere valley and construction side) with the support of muhtar of Karakursunlar Village in 1977. - Karakusunlar Village was included in the borders of municipality
<p>NEOLIBERAL URBAN COALITION</p>	<p>1980- 1991</p>	<p>In 1980s, high rise buildings, gated communities were built for middle income groups;</p> <p>Dünya 1 housing estate Park housing estate Başkent housing estate</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In the beginning of 1990s, the construction of these housing estates was completed. - The jurisdiction boundaries of mukhtar of Çiğdem Neighborhood was separated from the jurisdiction boundaries of mukhtar of 100.Yıl Neighborhood in 1989. - The duty of mukhtar of Çiğdem Neighborhood separated from the duty of mukhtar of 100.Yıl Neighborhood in 1989 - ‘Çiğdem Education, Environment and Solidarity Association’ (ÇiğdeMİM) was established in 1996 by inhabitants of Çiğdem Neighborhood 	

Table 1.2 *continued*

NEOLIBERAL URBAN COALITION		<p>with the collaboration of the mukhtar.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In the beginning of 2000s, the process urban transformation of Çiğdem Neighborhood was completed 	
	1991- 2012		<p>In the beginning of 2000s, the gap between the Çiğdem and Şirindere gecekondu settlements socio-economically, culturally dramatically got wider. The area of Şirindere Valley was broken off Çiğdem Neighborhood.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In 2000s, the area started to be called Şirindere instead of Karakusunlar. - Şirindere Urban Transformation and Development Project Area was declared in line with the decision of the Metropolitan Municipality Council dated 11.10.2005 and numbered 2669.
	2012- 2021	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rhythm Course for children living in Şirindere was organized in the years between 2017-2020 March. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In 2012, Şirindere was determined as a risky area by the Council of Ministers in line with - The principles determined by the Law No. 6306 on the "Transformation of Areas Under Disaster Risk."

Table 1.2. continued

NEOLIBERAL URBAN COALITION	2012- 2021⁴		<ul style="list-style-type: none">- In 2012, 200 households of Şirindere left their home while 50 households continued to live in Şirindere.- Paper trollers started to live in the abandoned houses in Şirindere, they were originally from mostly Gaziantep.- After 2012, criminal activities appeared in the area of Şirindere
			<ul style="list-style-type: none">- The Master Development Plan and Şirindere Development Plan were approved in line with the decision of the Metropolitan Municipality Council dated 14.03.2018 numbered 407 and date 13.07.2018 numbered 1169.- 664 inhabitants of the derelict houses in Şirindere valley abandoned the ares, 224 derelict houses (slums) in the beginning of November in 2020, 154 outhouses and tents were demolished on 12th November 2020. 50 old households still live Şirindere Valley.- According to the statement of Interviewee 2, during the deep interview, some of these 664 inhabitants has returned to Gaziantep, some of them started to live in SolfaSol, some of them also started to live in Hurdacılar Sitesi.- In 22.06.2021, those plans dated 14.03.2018 numbered 407 and dated 13.07.2018 numbered 1169 were canceled

⁴ On 28th October 2017, Melih Gökçek resigned his duty of Mayor of Metropolitan as a representative of conservative left ring party Municipality of Ankara. On 31st March 2019, Mansur Yavaş was selected as Mayor of Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara as a representative of conservative left-wing party

Moreover, the conceptual study in Figure 1 aims at displays the hypothesis of the motion how Community Formation of Çiğdem Neighborhood have affected the relations between Çiğdem Community and people living in Şirindere and cross-class practices.

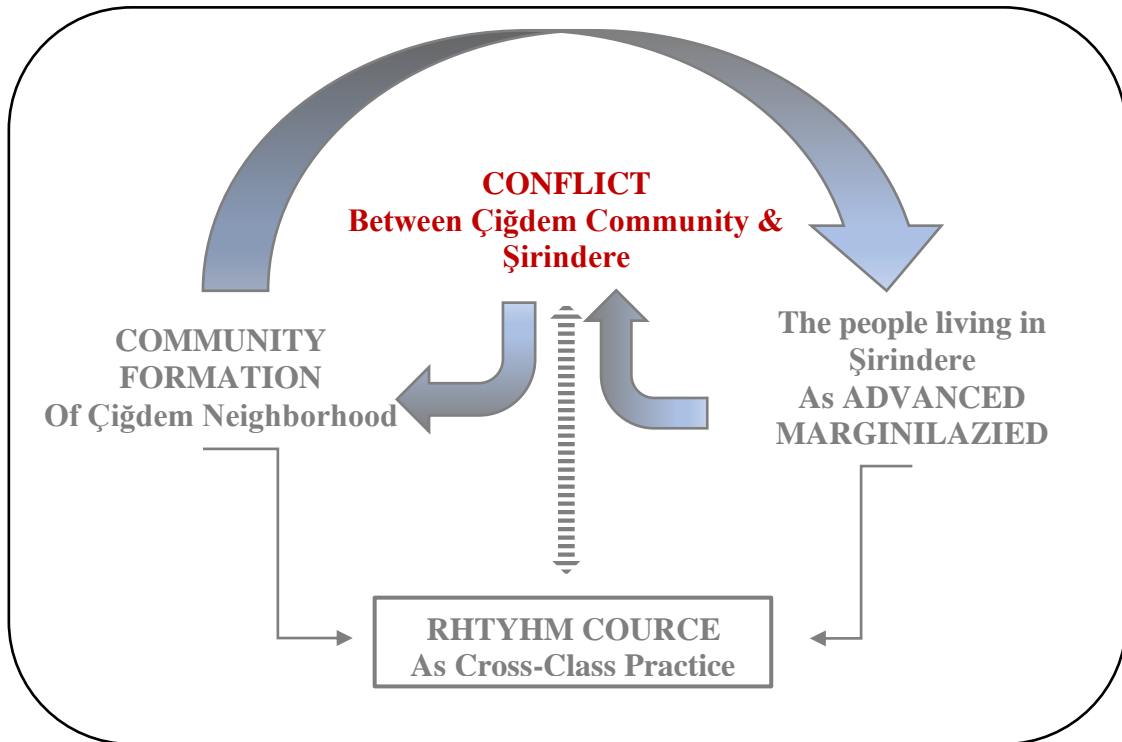


Figure 1.2. The conceptual of the hypothesis of the thesis

The thesis aims to explore how the formulations of “community” have been taking shape under neoliberal urban transformation. As supporting questions of main research question of the thesis, my encounter’s with Çiğdem Neighborhood Community and Şirindere and my personal observations and experiences in the field has triggered to question the following:

- The role of Çiğdem Community on the conflict between Çiğdem and Şirindere
- The role of this conflict on Çiğdem Neighborhood Community

Moreover, with regard to experiences in Rhythm workshop,

- The role of Cross-Class Practices on the relation between Çiğdem Community and Şirindere
- The role of the relation between Çiğdem Community and Şirindere on Cross-Class Practice

1.3. Structure of The Thesis

Chapter 2 aims at investigating the concept of community. In this sense, the fundamental elements of this chapter are the role of community in the society, its meaning for people and how this meaning has changed from past to present, the process of existence of community from part to whole, its relation of exteriority.

Chapter 3 focuses on community formation under neoliberal urban transformation. Its aims to explore formulations of community formation, relational setting of community, exclusionary mechanisms of community, and community within power. In this regard, community as assemblage of persons stated in “Assemblage Theory” by Manuel DeLanda and Community as Public Practices by Talja Blokland is discussed. Accordingly, it searches the reason behind why advanced marginalized groups cannot be community even though it is a social entity which was born in neoliberal urban change.

Chapter 4 explores and analyzes the role of Çiğdem Community on the conflict, the role of ÇiğdeMIM on relationship between Çiğdem Community and People living in Şirindere, limitations of community formation under neoliberal transformation. The theoretical framework of the thesis displayed community formation under neoliberal transformation is rather different traditional community formation. Hence, community formation is analyzed by applying assemblage analysis and focusing on the relations of “community” (among insiders, with “outsiders”, i.e., by analyzing exclusionary mechanisms (boundary drawing), relational setting of belonging.

Chapter 5 summarized the theoretical background of thesis and field study. It underlines the main findings of this research which aims to answer the formulations of community under neoliberal urban transformation have been shaped. The main findings are given under three main contents: with exclusionary mechanisms, relational setting of belonging and within agency. It is concluded how this thesis can guide further studies.

CHAPTER 2

THE MEANING OF “COMMUNITY”

The meaning of community is interpreted in quite different ways depending on whether we talk in our daily speeches or whether we discussed about “community” in the academic field. The reason why is the contractionary nature of “community”. That is, on the one hand “community” causes conflicts and exclusions, on the other hand it is seen as a need for political activism.

This chapter aims at investigating the concept of community. In this sense, the fundamental elements of this chapter are the role of community in the society, its meaning for people and how this meaning has changed from past to present, the process of existence of community from part to whole, its relation of exteriority.

2.1. Definition of Community

What is a community? Basically, when we observe all communities, all of them are also groups of people. The answer to this question might be as a group which occurs by people gathering. However, to ensure the validity of this answer, it needs to ask a reverse question. So, are all groups formed by people community? No, they are obviously not. A community is also a group of people but being a group of people is not same thing with being community. In this sense, if being a group is implicit to being a community, the concept of group is involved to the concept of community. Therefore, the concept of group will be discussed, and then the lexical signification will be analyzed.

What are fundamental elements of the concept of “group”. “Group” can draw a tangible or an intangible border around things. All groups absolutely have their own border in different shapes, forms, scales, thickness, permeability, transparency etc. In fact, naming or describing

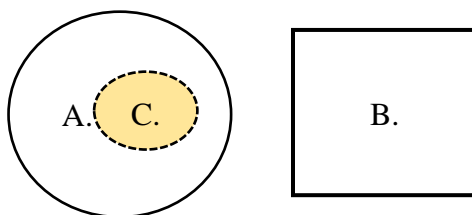
anything as “group” exist with merely its own border. There are 2 different examples to discuss the relation between “border” and “group” as below. In the first example, the togetherness of numbers occurs one kind or another, which is not important at this point. Now, if this togetherness is named as a group or if it is stated that this togetherness is a group of numbers, either intangible or tangible border is already drawn around this togetherness. In this example, the border of “group” is determined by insiders of “group”.

1st Example:

73482713809183 → Togetherness

In the second example, there are different shapes as shown below. These shapes named as A, B, C are used for the visualization of the relation between border and group. While lines represent borders, shapes represent groups. How shapes of A, B, C, will primarily be is described, and then respecting the description, these shapes are drawn with lines. If there is no line, there is no shape. Different from the first example, the border of “group” is determined by description of “group”.

2nd Example:



“Group”, moreover, can only be noticed, or occur, or be created, or be formed, if there is a division. In fact, if there is no division, there is no group. Group is defined as “things that are put together or considered as a unit” (digital dictionary, *Cambridge Dictionary*). It can be state that there is a division between things that are put together and things which are not included this togetherness and there is a division between insiders of a unit or outsiders of a unit. “Group” is either a reason of division or a result of division. “Group” in the first definition is a result of division, whether in the second definition is a reason of division.

Hence, regarding discussions above, the concept of “group” is strongly related with concepts of border and division. If being a group is implicit to being a community, the concept of “community” is strongly related with these concepts. Getting informed about these characteristics facilitates to comprehend the signification of community. Hence, this part of

this chapter aims to trace these characteristics of community by deconstructing the lexical definitions of community.

Cambridge Dictionary defines a community as “the people living in one particular area” and “people who are considered as a unit because of their common interests, social group, or nationality” (digital Cambridge Dictionary). As deepening on its lexical definitions, it is seen that not only its requirements, but also ways of its occurrence are drawn differently. To explain clearly, both definitions will be deconstructed.

To illustrate, *one particular area* can be neighborhoods, urban land, rural land, cities etc., In this sense, “Are people who live in the same neighborhood defined as community?” Regarding this definition, the answer can be yes, people who live in the same neighborhood, are defined as neighborhood community. Thus, borders of these living areas given as examples do not only determine their own borders, but also borders of communities. Yet, there is another important issue needs to be paid attention to, how borders of these areas are determined. When we look at these examples above, political authorities, urban planners play an important role determining the borders of these areas. Furthermore, not only neighborhood has its governmental border, but also it has cultural and social border. (Köksal A., 2010, pg.119)

According to the second definition, there are two important steps in order a group of people to be defined as a community. The first step is the reason beyond people’s gathering should be *common* interests, social group, or nationality etc. The word origin of community, “common” supports this explanation. The second step is these people gathered should also be thought *as a unit*. In fact, to be a community the border of a group of people should be drawn. Moreover, different from the first definition, the border of community is determined, depending upon *common interests, social group, or nationality* of members of community.

2.2. Communitas: The Origin of Community

Roberto Exposito (2009) interprets the meaning of “community” in a rather different way from the general use of political philosophy for “community”. Exposito criticizes the way of how political philosophy approaches “community” since the political philosophy approaches “community” as an object from a wider subjective perspective. In this respect, Exposito underlines the ignored assumption of conceptions about the significance of “community”

developed by political philosophy. Regarding this, he explains the significance of “community”. Robert Exposito (2009, pg. 2) states that,

Community is a "property" belonging to subjects that join them together [accomuna]: an attribute, a definition, a predicate that qualifies them as belonging to the same totality [insieme], or as a "substance" that is produced by their union.

This definition of “community” claims that the common thing which keeps people together in “community” is property. Exposito also draws an attention the most paradoxical aspect of the definition of “common”, which is “common” is defined through what “common” is not. According to Exposito, “common” is the thing which unites the ethnic, territorial, and spiritual property of each member of “community”, that is the members of community are *the owners of the thing which is common to them all*.

To search for the significance of “community”, his first aim to place himself outside of the dialectic explained so that he takes a hermeneutic support which is both autonomous and outside with respect to this dialectic. Therefore, he implies the root of etymology of Latin term of “community”, which is *Communitas*.

In this sense, the root of word “*communitas*” are *communis* and *munus*. Firstly, Exposito (2009, pg.4) states that “*communis*, is what becomes meaningful from **the opposition to what is proper.**” Therefore, the definition of “common (commun, comun, kommuri)” in all neo-Latin languages is that, ““**What is not proper [proprio]**, that begins where what is proper ends” (Exposito 2009, pg.4)”

In other words, Exposito (2009, pg.3) also states by the means that,

The common is not characterized by what is proper but **by what is improper**, or even more drastically, by the other; by avoiding [svuotamento], be it partial or whole of property into its negative; by removing what is properly one's own

Secondly, there are three meanings of “*munus*”. Both the first and second meaning are similar to the meaning of “duty” such as obligation, official, position (*impiego*), and post. However, Exposito is interested in the third meaning is rather problematic. Hence, Exposito (2009, pg. 5) asks that ““In what sense would a gift [dono] be a duty? Doesn't there appear, on the contrary, something spontaneous and therefore eminently voluntary in the notion of gift”

Subsequently, Exposito (2009, pg.5) explains that

the gift that one gives because one must give and because one cannot not give. It has a tone so clearly of being obliged [doverosita] as to modify or even to interrupt the one-to-one correspondence of the relation between the gift giver [donatore] and the recipient [donatario]. Although produced by a benefit that was previously received, **the munus** indicates only **the gift that one gives, not what one receives.** (Robert Exposito, 2009, pg.5)

According to this definition, “common” which gathers or keeps subjects together is described by eliminating what is properly one’s own.

In brief, the *Communitas* gathers because of having a debt, a pledge, or a gift to be given instead of sharing property. In respect to the root of Latin term, the union of subjects of community is based on one-sided duty; that is, I ought to give a gift to you, but I ought not receive a gift from you. For example, if voluntary works, organizations, entertainments are constantly maintained, those works might be examples of “community”. Since the way of volunteers gather is similar to the way of subjects of community as mentioned above. I have experienced to be a volunteer in different organizations, works. Like other volunteers, my personal intention as a volunteer is to give my efforts to others without expecting any response and it was also my responsibility or duty. I would like to state that Blokland (2009, pg. 8) remarks that “community” is characterized with having “common thing”, but this etymological research reveals that “common thing” is, indeed, manifestly no-thing of things. Yet, as volunteers, not only we did not have “common thing” and we give our efforts, capabilities, or talent.

Without any response, but in my several experiences we also have been sharing a common aim, desire, or dream. In fact, one of the main reasons of our togetherness is to share “common thing” as well. Hence, there are three questions which need to be asked such as whether or not the common ground of “community” is sharing “common thing”, but owning “no-thing”, or if or not sharing common aim, dream or goal also means having common aim, goal or dream or is there voluntarily organization, engagement or activity whose volunteers do not share common “thing”, if there is, can be this group defined as “community” with respect to Exposito’s definition.

2.3. Community as Image

People experience the concepts with their images. Hence, the images of “community” help us to perceive how people experience “community” in their mind, which has a vital importance on their relationship with “community”. Furthermore, understanding the images of “community” facilitates to comprehend the significance of “community”. Baumann (2000) displays that the image of community is based on bygone communities, and this image is quite like the image of *the paradise* in people’s mind. Thus, creating or discovering “community” also means the creation of paradise on Earth. This component aims at exploring the images of community in people in the present time, pointing out the similarity between the image of paradise and the image of communities, and lastly, the main features of bygone community.

Baumann, in his book *Community: Seeking Safety in Insecure World* (2000), discusses the significance of community for people. Baumann (2000, pg.13) emphasizes that community as a word has “a feel’ which is warm, peaceful. To elucidate this ‘feel’, he uses different metaphors for community such as “a roof under which we shelter in heavy rain, a fireplace at which we warm our hands on a frosty day” (Bauman 2000, pg.13). In addition to these metaphors, he uses “*the paradise*” as a metaphor of “community” to also draw an attention to the similarities between the concept of “community” to *the paradise*.

Firstly, the significance of word “community” and word “the paradise” is so similar. Baumann interprets the significance of the word ‘community’ as follows; “What the word evokes is everything we miss, and we lack secure, confident, trusting” (Bauman 2000, pg.15&16) Those words also explain the significance of the paradise. Moreover, as *the paradise*, even though community as word maintains its own aliveness, community is lost today. In fact, “community” belongs the past, and it is missing today. Yet still, “community” is not a nostalgia because Bauman (2000, pg.15) underlines that there is a hope that “community” will be found in the future. That is, people dream of living in “community” like *the paradise*. Bauman (2000, pg.15) summarizes the similarity between the significance of word “community” and word “the paradise” that “Community is another name of paradise lost- but which we dearly hope to return, and so we feverishly seek to roads that may bring us there.”

Secondly, there is another similarity between the reason beyond why “*the paradise*” and “community” is lost, in other words, how people lost both “*the paradise*” and “community”. Hence, for the paradise lost, Bauman (2000, pg.13) tells the story of Adam and Eve as follows:

The story of Adam and Eve, whose penalty for eating from the Tree of Knowledge was expulsion from paradise; and the paradise was a paradise because they could live there trouble-free: they did not have to make the choices on which their happiness (or for that matter unhappiness) depended.

In addition, in the story of Adam and Eve, God warns Adam and Eve and their offspring about:

that no amount of labor or sweating would suffice to bring back the serene and carefree happiness of paradise ignorance; that happiness of the pristine sort had been irretrievably lost once innocence was lost. (Baumann 2000, pg. 23&24).

In other words, according to the story, Adam and Eve ate *from the Tree of Knowledge*, which enlightened them about sense of being free. This enlightenment causes the loss of their innocence. Thus, they lost their living in *the paradise*, and *the serene and carefree happiness of paradise ignorance*. Similarly, according to Bauman (2000, pg. 36) as living in *the paradise*, while living in “community” bestows people the feeling of being in cozy and peaceful, individualism bestows them freedom. However, when people discover individualism which means also sense of being free, they lost their communal innocence so that they lost “community”.

Moreover, Baumann (2000, pg.24) states that: “Memory of that bliss would haunt Adam’s and Eve’s descendants and keep them hoping against hope that the road back could be discovered or blazed.”.

According to Baumann, like *Adam’s and Eve’s descendants*, *today’s* individuals still hope to find a good feel’ of being in “community”. How *Adam and Eve* experience the concept of the paradise while living on earth is like the way of *today’s* individuals experience the concept of the paradise in their minds.

2.4. Community as an Instrument for Providing Security in the Society

As if the curse of Adam and Eve still haunts human beings, people still continue to desire both freedom and feeling of being safe. (Baumann 2000, pg.37) Whenever human beings get closer freedom, they started to lose sense being in safe. Instead of having one of them, all human beings, intensively, hope to find the place which includes both. In fact, they still hope to get rid of this curse endlessly. In other words, people search for the equilibrium relation between freedom and security. Bauman (2000, pg.39) explains reasons beyond this searching as

follows; “Promoting security always calls for the sacrifice of freedom, while freedom can only be expanded at the expense of security but security without freedom equals slavery, freedom without security equals being abandoned and lost

However, this freedom brought sense of not belonging anywhere and all uncertainties with itself. Respecting to Bauman’s statement above, people started to feel being abandoned and lost. According to Baumann (2000, pg. 37), the feeling of danger has increased in the society. Similarly, Iris Marion Young (1999, p.263) summarizes the situation with these words that:

Much sociological literature diagnoses history as a movement to the dangerous bureaucratized Gesellschaft (society) from the manageable and safe Gemeinschaft (community) (...) Throughout to Modern period, the city has often been decried as embodying immortality, artificiality, disorder, and danger- as the site of treasonous conspiracies, illicit sex, crime, deviance, and disease. (Iris Marion Young 1990, p.263)

According to philosophers and political theorists who criticize the welfare capitalist society of modern era, these problems caused by liberal individualism needs to be overcome. Iris Marion Young (1990, pg.250&pg.263) emphasizes that these critics proposed “community” as alternative to liberal individualism since they assert “a reinstatement of community will eliminate all the disvalues of “the typical image of the modern city.” In fact, according to them “community” might bring the safety to the Modern cities again, in other words, community might be considered as an instrument for providing the security. All the images of community can be realized, that is, the paradise on Earth might be reincarnated. In this sense, by these critics, the concept of community is propounded as Ideal Community. This concept is created by taking into consideration on the studies about bygone communities. In this sense, it is aimed at establishing ideal community in society.

2.4.1. How was “Community” used to be?

The word origin of community is “common”, which comes from “Old French comunete, reinforced by its sources Latin *communitas*, from *communis*. (Digital Oxford Dictionary).” Thanks to etymology, the word origin might give a clue about its implicit meaning. In other words, the existence of “community” must be relied on a common thing. In this sense, Baumann, in his book *Community: Seeking Safety in Insecure World* (2000), claims that “common understanding” underlies “community”. In other words, he interprets “common understanding” as a building block of bygone communities. Hence, the upcoming part rely on analyzing common understanding and the main properties of bygone communities.

Subsequently, the consequences of its transformation to an instrument for achieving security as an ideal community will be discussed later.

The communication among insiders of bygone communities displays that there was “common understanding” among them. In this sense, according to arguments of Ferdinand Tönnies, Baumann (2000, pg.25&26) explains that “understanding shared by its insiders is always immanent to the bygone community, i.e., *common understanding standing, coming naturally* also are features, which set the community. That is, common understanding between people plays an important role on the occurrence of “community” or i.e., “the warm circle” which is called for “community” by Göran Rosenberg (in an essay in 2000 in *La Nouvelle Lettre Internationale*,). At this point, it is essential to discuss about what *common understanding* means.

According to Baumann (2000, by relying on the statements of Tönnies (pg. 26, cited in Bauman 2000), common understanding is a way of communication, which does not include “cold calculation and rote-learning of whatever society around, frostily and humorlessly, presents as ‘standing to reason’ in no circumstances. That is, common understanding is naturally existed while people in this warm circle are communicating with each other. Those people also accept each other unconditionally. Bauman (2000 pg.26) states that “*inside the ‘warm circle’ they won’t have to prove anything whatever they do they may expect sympathy and help.*” Furthermore, common understanding means “understanding each other without words i.e., mutual understanding of inexpressible, interminable, incomprehensible.” That is, this communication is a non-verbal communication. Bauman (2000, pg.26&pg.29) interprets “community” as “shared understanding of the ‘natural’ and ‘tacit’ kind. He also states that, since common of understanding can be realized only if the unity of “community” is made of homogeneous and sameness”, Robert Redfield (pg. 28 cited in Baumann 2000), furthermore, identifies the features of “bygone community” argued by Fernand Tönnies, as follow:

- Distinctive – division into ‘us’ and ‘them’ there is no ‘betwixt and between’ cases. It is crystal-clear.
- Small – communication among the insiders is all embracing and dense
- Self-sufficient – isolation from ‘them’ is close to complete (

Briefly, Bauman (2000) explains that all-good feelings such as feeling safe, feeling of being in a warm circle etc. about bygone community were born since it has had ““but no amount of sweating will ever reopen the closed gate to communal innocence, pristine sameness and tranquility.” (Bauman 2000, pg.36). In a sense, Bauman states that while being reincarnated

again, common understanding cannot be reinvented in re-born “community”. In the hope of finding common understanding again, “ideal community” is created as an imaginary concept based on the features of bygone communities to provide a security in society. Yet, Baumann (2000) resembles the process of achieving security in modern cities by establishing “ideal communities” to the story of Sisyphus. In other words, there is endless effort to create the security as bygone communities had although it is impossible. Unfortunately, in reality this concept, hence, transform itself to another form. In the accordance with, the next component focuses on the concept of ideal community and its consequences.

2.4.2. Ideal Community

*“Porque ese cielo azul que todos
vemos,
ni es cielo, ni es azul
¡Lástima grande que no sea verdad tanta belleza!”*

*“Because the blue sky that we all see
It is not a sky, it’s not a blue
Too bad that such beauty is not true”
Lupercio de Argensola (1559-1613)*

Baumann (2000, pg. 30) underlines that common understanding is an aim, which an ideal community must achieve. Thus, the concept of ideal community desires to create harmony among people, for consensus (Iron Young, 1990, pg.254). Baumann (2000, pg.27) explains this harmony which bygone communities had as follows: “*it (bygone community) won’t survive the moment in which understanding turns self-conscious*”. This kind of communication can appear only if there are no ontological differences within and between subjects (Iron Young, 1990, pg.256). Thus, the concept of ideal community negates those differences. In accordance with, the concept states, that ideal community must be a homogeneous unity. She states that, homogeneous unity means *the copresence of subjects*, which the subjects are transparent to each other or transparent ego. Iron Young (1990, pg.257) clarifies transparent ego as “each understands the other and recognizes the others in the same way that they understand themselves, and all recognize that the others understand them as they understand themselves (Young 1990, pg.257)”. This transparency provides the feeling of security in the community because it creates common understanding. However, Young does not agree the possibility of copresence of subjects, and she claims, “*A subject is heterogenous process... subjects cannot make themselves transparent, wholly present to one another* Young 1990, pg.257)” regarding the statements of Hegel and Sartre . Respecting arguments of those

scholars, if the creation of transparency among subjects is impossible, the natural occurrence of commonization is also impossible.

Henceforward, the concept of ideal community transforms its face for meeting the security in society. In other words, while the image of ideal community stays as same as *paradise*, its realization is far from way the reality is. In this sense, except from transparent ego, there is another way to create homogeneity unity, which is common identification. In US for example, by enforcing homogeneity, ideal community realizes itself with common self-identification, a common culture and set of norms. (Iron Young, 1990, pg.261). In brief, because the dreamed community couldn't be realized as its images, common identification is needed to create social wholeness, that is, sameness provide homogeneity and being unity.

Iron Young (1990, pg.261), moreover, remarks that, common self-identification often occurs as an oppositional differentiation from other groups who are feared, despised or at best devalued. Yet, the members of the ideal community, i.e., people who have common self-identification, only feel comfortable, safe, with other members of community. Common self-identification also refers to “sameness” which means absence of the other. Indeed, the safety of “sameness” procures feeling of being secure in the community., pg.168). However, feeling of safety which “sameness”, at the same time, causes the rise of fear of differences, otherness etc. The outside of ideal community, outsiders, other etc. that is, are perceived as a danger. Firstly, when the gap of differences between outsider and insiders gets wider, the others become more danger for insiders. In this sense, the border of the ideal community for the security plays an important role. As long as the danger increases, the borders become thicker. The enclosed gated communities which Baumann identifies as voluntary ghetto or quasi ghetto, are one of the best examples of those communities. In the accordance with, Baumann (2000, pg.175) states that

The ‘community’ they seek stands for a burglar-free and stranger-proof ‘safe environment’. ‘Community’ stands for isolation, separation, protective walls, and guarded gates.

Baumann (2000), furthermore, uses Weber’s metaphor for safety of sameness as home. In this regard, Bauman (2000) explains that Weber (1971 cited in Bauman 2000, pg.181) resembles the safety of sameness as “wearing a light cloak and finding oneself locked in steel casing”.



Figure 2.1.: Rene Magritte, *Colcando* in 1953, Brussels taken from <https://www.rene-magritte.com/golconde/>

I think that the painting of Rene Magritte, named as *Colcando*, might be imagined as the representation as people who wears a light cloak and il locked in steel casing. It is predicted that while the painting represents the life of banlieue which the artist used to live for a while, men who wear same clothes represent the monotype, isolated identities. I think that the painting of Rene Magritte is a good image for the members of real community which is built for security. The name of painting also is the name of city of India, which used to be in wealth, but is poor now. The dramatic change between old and new city is allegorized. The fact that the bygone or imagined community was like a heaven, but the real community is even resembled to “the cage”. This painting is also remarkable because Magritte strongly emphasizes that the representation is not reality.

Secondly, because facing with otherness causes the feeling of unsafety, the community might work for assimilating “others” or perishing “other”. It is already mentioned that the concept of ideal community is established for the security; besides providing social wholeness. I argue that the concept of ideal community is exactly same as the concept of nationalism even though their scales are too different. Both of them are simply group of people, the border of their group and requirements to be allowed to be insiders is already determined. Furthermore, like the concept of ideal community, Baumann (2000, pg.144 & 145) states that nationalism admires to spread the sameness all over the society: thus, ethnic communities mean “otherness” for nation building practices. According to statements of Bauman, to cope with “otherness”, nation building practices applies in two different ways; either perish the otherness

or assimilate the otherness. Hence, if “the ideal community” has more power than “others”, it can fight against “otherness” by destroying differences and by constructing sameness.

To sum up, ideal community as being an instrument of security is also performed as a conflict-ridden instrument (Iron M. Young 1990, pg.251), According to the statements of Baumann, due to the loss of bygone communities and the appearance of individualism, feeling secure in society has been declined. Relying on a conservative approach, community-based solutions has been made. The concept of “ideal community” has been created within this purpose. Because the differences are threats for ideal community, the concept of “ideal community” do not include “the other”. Thus, the relation between “ideal community” and different, and “ideal community” and difference causes the conflict, social exclusions etc. in society Bauman (2000), moreover, puts an emphasis on the increase of enclosed and gated communities in globalized world, i.e., the increase of ideal community.

2.5. Community as a means of Civil Society Movements

“Community is not an institution, not even an organization, but a way to make links between people”
(Zibechi 2010, pg.14)

This component focuses on the theory of Zibechi: *Community: As a Social Machinery*. His theory is based his detail observations and analyses on neighborhood communities in the city El Alto, Bolivia in the years between 2000-2005. His theory says that community is describes as social machinery, which provides people gather for civil right social movements. This theory is important for adding dimension on discussions about community theories since it offers a different perspective on contemporary urban communities. This is because, the experience of El Alto is interpreted as a civil rights movement, and it explains the role of community on civil rights movements. Furthermore, this component aspires to gain understanding the important elements of his theory.

According to Zibechi (2010), “Neighborhood Community in El Alto” has become an example of civil right social movement. Before deepening Zibecchi’s statements on this subject, it is essential to emphasize on general conditions of Bolivia in those years. Zapatistas Movement was sovereign all around Bolivia. Thanks to that, different neighborhood communities fought against to achieve some right for their lands. Partial and decentralized power brought to the

succession to those communities because the state was not able to control this decentralized power. In this sense, Zibechi (2010, pg. 20) states that,

If the territorial units get smaller, face to face community controls gets hard in these areas. Therefore, the state and party system prefer the high number of inhabitants in neighborhoods since it is much easier to control the neighborhood communities.

Stavrides (2016, pg.45) paraphrases the dispersed power which neighborhood communities creates as “a form of dispersion of power was produced in practice which created various levels and forms of intra-neighborhood cooperation (Zibechi 2010, pg.30 cited in Stavrides 2016, pg.45)” Zibechi (2010 pg.14) also explains the intra-neighborhood cooperation that all community are 1subjective links in which are all one”.

Firstly, Zibechi (2010) sees the community as a means for the emancipation of society, in other words, as a non-state power. Zibechi (2010, pg.12) states that during the uprisings in Cochabamba including the city of El Alto, Bolivia the years between 2000-2005, it is observed that the rural and urban communities compound the social power, as being *power structure without special bodies, power in the movement without power over the collective*.

Secondly, he (2010, 14) stated that “community is woven at based on subjective relationships” Thus, he gives weight to the relations between neighbors, between friends between families etc. in everyday life, and he (2010, pg.14) mentions that these are rather significant as the relations of union, state, and party etc. He explains how much significant of those relations regarding his observations of local neighborhood council in El Alto-Cochabamba. He (2010, pg.13) gives an example of one of the uprisings that was to fight for the defense of neighborhood territories, and “the neighbors define themselves as a form of neighborhood micro-government”. In accordance with, because there is a strong network relation between neighbors, these uprisings were spontaneously organized without pre-planning (Zibechi 2010, pg.13)

Thirdly, Zibechi (2010, pg.14) draws attention to the difference between the association and the community which is stated by Max Weber. According to Zibechi’ s statement, association is a structure where people are means for achieving an end, but community is a means for people. The basis of community is the subjective relations whose ends are people (Zibechi 2010, pg.14). Community is a means for connecting people with each other. In other words, community is an instrument which strengthens human togetherness.

2.5.1. The Main Feature of the Neighborhood Communities in El Alto

The neighborhood communities of El Alto have certain features, which facilitates the achievement of their insurgencies against the privatization of power and the gas war, which relies on the past. Due to their features, these neighborhoods could produce non-state powers. The majority of El Alto population migrated from the rural after 1985 at the same time as a homogeneous group of people. The socio-demographic information of these people is hat:

We are looking at young, largely female workers who are poor and educated (there is only an eight percent illiteracy rate in El Alto and fifty-two percent have had at least one year of school), with great autonomy in their jobs and a strong family presence. (Zibechi 2010, pg.39)

Most of them work in either informal works or family businesses, which do not belong the capitalist system. Inhabitants of El Alto were concern about the lack of services, the helplessness before crime or municipality. Hence, each family unit by gathering became a unity within community organization. The infrastructure of the area which they had to live in had lot of problems. They built their houses *by means of communal action* (Zibechi 2010, pg.22). They fought for the improvement of their neighborhoods in terms of environmentally. This story supports Patzi's statement. Patzi (cited in Zibechi 2010, pg.27) argues that "There is no community without the collective management of resources, an element that is, the basis for community cohesion." In other words, the collective management of resources has a vital importance for being a community. The point which Zibechi attaches important to that even though they used to be rural communities, they re-created and re-invented communities in El Alto again. (Zibechi 2010, pg.19).

Communities in El Alto represents a good side of being a "community". Regarding these experiences, the community is seen as a civil rights movement against power mechanisms, i.e., its enemy is power mechanisms no other communities or people. Respecting Zibechi's statements, the components which play a unifying role on members of these neighborhoods as neighborhood communities are given as below:

- Common deprivation
- Common suffering
- Common demands for all neighborhoods
- Social Spatial Segregation
- The prevalence of we over "I" (*as much for strictly material reasons as for symbolic and cultural ones* (Zibechi 2010, pg.31))

With respect to other theories discussed above these components above can also be defined as.

- Its common ground is having No-thing, but sharing “Common Lack of Common Resources for all humanity”
- Strongly defined boundary because of social categorization by others

To sum up, the concept of community developed by Zibechi demonstrated another role of community in society. Accordingly, Zibechi re-defines the meaning of community with regards to experiences in El Alto. Zibechi defines “community” as social machinery because it is a way to link people together. He also interprets “community” as a social construction not an ontological existence. Similar to other definitions in previous part, two pillars of community such as boundary and “common thing” are defined again such as common lack of common resources and strongly defined boundary with regard to examples of El Alto. Moreover, according to statements of Zibechi, the community consist of subjective relations. Even though the concept of community developed by Zibechi differs from the concept of bygone and ideal community, the communities in El Alto are distinctive, small and homogeneous as bygone communities. These features have brought succession to communities in El Alto because they have cut the control of power mechanisms. However, this interest the concept of “community” in enclosed small box.

Yet still, this theory plays an important role especially in terms of discussing other side of community and the definition “common thing” which holds people together. So, can common lack of common resources or common lack of “something” be included in a new of definition of “community” today?

Briefly, this chapter has discussed the meaning of community and traditional formation of community, but theoretical understanding of community needs another way of thinking since social entities constantly changes in the globalized world. This need carries this discussion to the chapter 3.

CHAPTER 3

THEOROTICAL UNDERSTANDING OF COMMUNITY FORMATION UNDER NEOLIBERAL URBAN TRANSFORMATION

The notion of community which a great number of academic studies were conducted on has been discussed for a long time. Still, it is seen that it needs to be discussed because traditional community formation is not enough to understand today's community formulations in the globalized world.

This chapter focuses on community formation under neoliberal urban transformation. Its aims to explore formulations of community formation, relational setting of community, exclusionary mechanisms of community, and community within power. In this regard, community as assemblage of persons stated in "Assemblage Theory" by Manuel DeLanda and Community as Public Practices by Blokland is discussed. Accordingly, it searches the reason behind why advanced marginalized groups cannot be community even though it is a social entity which was born in neoliberal urban change.

3.1. The Analysis of "Community" with Respect to "Assemblage Theory"

Manuel DeLanda, who is a philosopher and an academic scholar, analyzes emergent properties of "knit neighborhood communities" in his lecture published via YouTube channel ((URL2: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J-I5e7ixw78>) He offers a new way of thinking of social entities regarding to assemblage theory. According to assemblage theory, conservations, networks of people, communities, organizations, institutional organization, hierarchical governmental organizations, social class, cities etc. are assemblages, which means all of them occur by assembling their parts. The theory says that emergent properties of social entities i.e., its capacity to interact with other entities, can be defined. In other words, by analyzing the

dynamics of assemblages, mechanisms, which define the relations of exteriority of parts, can be described.

In addition, the theory takes social entities as individual singularities such as individual communities, individual organizations, individual cities etc. That is, each community also have its own capacity to interact. DeLanda (2006, pg.40) states that “all these individual entities have an objective existence independently of our minds without any commitment to essences or reified generalities.”

The assemblage analysis of DeLanda aims to discover social entities as concept independent. Hence, this component brings a new perspective to discussion on the theories of community and community organization. In accordance with, this component focuses on the assemblage theory and its dynamics, and afterwards, an example of DeLanda’s neighborhood community analysis to inform how this analysis will be applied to the case study of the thesis. In chapter 4, this analysis will be applied to ÇiğdeMİM, Çiğdem Neighborhood.

3.1.1. Introduction to Assemblage Theory

Manuel DeLanda, (2006, pg.1) claims that the concept dependent approaches for social entities from small communities to large nation-states do not enlighten the reality of social entities. This is because, concept dependent approaches cause classifications, but these classifications prevent from clearly seeing the reality of social entities. In this sense, he proposes a new approach to social ontology; in other words, he offers a realist approach to social ontology. He reconstructs the assemblage theory which was created by the philosopher Gilles Deleuze to apply it to social entities. This approach interprets social entities as assemblages and focuses on objective process of assembly of all social entities. Hence, DeLanda (2006, pg.3) claims that “as assemblages constructed through very specific historical processes, processes in which language plays important but not a constitutive role.”

According to Assemblage theory, all entities occur with the assemblage of their parts. Assemblages are against the totalities, and it focuses on part-to whole relationship. In one of his lectures (URL3: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J-15e7ixw78>), DeLanda states that experience is needed, which emerges from the interaction of parts and when parts become whole, the emergent properties of parts is lost, the emergent property (capacity to interact with other entities) which belong to whole appeared. Furthermore, assemblage theory gives attention to relation of exteriority instead of interiority. As well as this, DeLanda (2006, pg.10)

underlines that “Gilles Deleuze calls assemblages, wholes characterized by relation of exteriority”. Assemblage theory is against reductionism of macro scale and micro scale.

Accordingly, DeLanda (2008) explains dynamics of Assemblage Theory as follows

- 1) The Variable Roles, which component of assembly may play:
 - Material Role
 - Expressive Role
- 2) The Variable Process, which these components become involved:
 - Territorialization:
 - Deterritorialization
 - Coding
 - Decoding

Material and Expressive roles might be performed together or separately by components of assembly. For material role, DeLanda (2006, pg.12) states that:

Community networks and institutional organization are assemblages of bodies, but they also possess a variety of other material components, from food and physical labor to simple tools and complex machines, to the buildings and neighborhoods serving as their physical locales. (DeLanda 2006, pg.12)

DeLanda (20006, pg.12) explains expressive role by analyzing face to face conversations as an assemblage. It does not only include linguistic and symbolic expressions but non-linguistic such as the content of the talk, bodily expressions /posture, dress, facial gesture etc. The process of territorialization is all about how sharply defined is the identity of an assemblage, or how unchanging is the identity of an assemblage. In order words, DeLanda (2006, pg.13) explains that “processes of territorialization are processes that define or sharpen the spatial boundaries of actual territories”. Besides the spatial process, the increase of homogeneity of an assemblage stabilized the identity of assemblage. (DeLanda 2006, pg.13) Secondly, the process of deterritorialization is exactly the opposite of the process of territorialization. It means destabilizing the identity of assemblage. Thus, having fussy borders or increase of heterogeneity defines the process of deterritorialization. (DeLanda 2006, pg.13) Thirdly, the process of coding works with the process of territorialization. It rigidifies, consolidates the identity of assemblage. For example, the rules which must be obeyed in assemblages perform the process of coding, breaking the rules serves the decoding. (DeLanda 2006, pg.15).

3.2. Introduction to Community as Urban Practices

Talja Blokland offers a new way of thinking on the notion of “community” in her book, named as “Community as Urban Practices”, in 2017. According to Blokland (2017), community is an imagined concept; thus, she aims to comprehend how we imagine communities. In this sense, she discusses the old concepts of “community” and the statements of network analysts about community. Afterwards, Blokland, in the theory which states Community as Culture, discovers not only the main components of community but also how these components come into existence. Regarding her discoveries, Blokland (2017) brings out theory of community as urban practices through the lens of various forms of social relations. Now, by following steps of Blokland, I will mention her critics about the old concepts of “community” and the statements of network analysts about community. Afterwards, I will focus on community, theoretically, as culture.

Firstly, Blokland (2017) is aware of the fact that these old concepts have, to large extent, still an impact on our way of thinking on theoretical understanding of “community”. Therefore, she starts her theory by explaining in what ways these theories do not fit in today’s communities so that she heads another way to gain theoretical understanding of “community”. In this sense, Blokland (2017) argues that the old concepts of classical sociology and urban studies do not serve to “communities” in the contemporary world of mobilities and diversity. Moreover, she generally criticized that they offer morphological understanding for “community, and also, they mostly focus on “industrialization and class, the contrast urban and rural, the romanticism they evoke (Blokland 2017, 7:16)”. I would like underline two points of old concepts Blokland objects to. The first point is to define “community” only place oriented. After the increase of fear of lose community in 19th century, “community” is identified with place because of the sharp separation rural=*Gemeinschaft* and urban=*Gesellschaft* in urban studies and community studies. However, this interpretation is not universal. For example, Blokland (2017, 8:16) states that “community” as a collective and cultural figuration is intrinsically connected to the power instead of neighborhood in Global South cities. The second point is that these concepts ignore routes includes mobility and migration. However, Blokland (2017, pg.) states that, “Some people may have roots and others may have routes, but all do community” because not only roots but also in routes people can share narratives, have symbols, sense of belonging but in different way from roots.

Secondly, Blokland concentrates on network analyses as an alternative way to discuss community in in postmodern era. The reason why scholars are inclined to discuss “community” as network is the experiences in Central Africa. These experiences cause the radical change of conceptualization of community. Instead of community as homogeneous and bounded place, “community” is conceptualized by this matter Personal Communities as Networks. (Mitchell 1969 pg.2 cited in Blokland 2017, 8:16). Furthermore, Blokland (2017, 8:16) states that,

According to Wellman (1994, pg. 28), network analyses shared with postmodernism the fact that they both refused to see community as demarcated unit. They saw it instead as “loosely linked relations among people and institutions where ties cut across boundaries.

That is, while developing a concept for “community”, network analysts examine the notion of community through social ties between persons instead of seeing community as a closed box. Moreover, each community is seen as an individual entity so that they name the community as personal communities which consist of intimate, active ties. (Pahl 2015 pg. 638 cited in Blokland 2017, 8:16). However, Blokland does not think the approaches of network analysts suffice to gain understating of “community” today since they separate social ties only as strong and weak and ignore absent ties, and they neglect the relation power and community. Still, the way how she develops relational setting of community is nourished by the idea that is community as personal networks.

Briefly, according to Blokland (2017), on the one hand the old concepts do not serve the meaning of “community” because of being place oriented and not being universal, ignoring the mobility of globalized world. On the other hand, she criticizes the theory of Personal Communities as Networks in terms of ignorance of absent ties and neglecting community power.

3.2.1. Community as Culture

According to Blokland (2017), the cultural notion of community explains the relation between community and the concepts of belonging and identity. In this sense, the base line of theory “Community as Culture” stands on the argument that “community is a cultural concept” made by Anthony Cohen (Blokland 2017,9:16).

Firstly, the notion culture and community started to be discussed together in the study of urban poverty in 1960s regarding to the thesis of a “culture poverty” by Oscar Lewis (1966). Blokland (2017, 9:16.) states that,

For Lewis (1966), poverty was not just a matter of scarcity of material goods and money; to be poor also presupposed a set of cultural traits into which one was socialized, through a community with norms and values that deviated from the mainstream and helped to reproduce poverty in the younger generations. Hence the explanation of intergenerational poverty was not primarily, or not only, structural but was related to the value and belief systems of the poor. (Blokland 2017, p9:16)

Similarly, according to David Harvey (1996), as positive adaptive mechanism, the poor socially constructed, collectively fabricated subculture of poverty to survive in impossible material and social conditions of their everyday life. In brief, the construction of subculture of poverty is a requirement for survival of the poor through community whose participants share their own common values and belief systems. This also means that the construction of culture depends on the existence of community and vice versa.

Secondly, Blokland points out correlations among symbols, culture, and community. According to Cohen (1985&1986:8 cited in Blokland, 2017, 9:16), “Community exist through symbols, in other words, symbols form the core of a culture regardless of their meaning.” (So, how symbols are produced become an important question. In this regard, Blokland (2017, 9:16) states that,

Seeing community as a cultural concept, then, means seeing it as a set of repertoires of public practices – or performances – that are above all symbolic. Their meanings, as they are lived, produce belonging as well as disengagement, or inclusion and sharing as well as exclusion. (Blokland 2017, 9:16)

In short, the production of symbols is public doing; in other words, symbols are produced through public performances and practices. This is because shared symbols are produced with shared narratives and shared experiences which are essential for sense of belonging.

Additionally, the symbols are conveyed to people via certain relations. The relations imply interactions. There are constant interactions among communities. These interactions cause that culture is produced, reproduces, challenged, and changed. To illustrate, in 1920s, Europe has met Argentine Tango, Argentine Tango had met valse thank to people who visited or migrated Europe from Argentine; afterwards, as an outcome of these interactions while Argentine tango valse was created in Argentine, salon tango is created in Europe. The appearance of new dance

style by the combination of different dances styles created by different culture might give a clue how culture or communities changes by interaction with different ones. Therefore, with regard to community as culture, community also means as a relational figuration in constant change and movement. (Blokland 2017, pg.9:16)

To sum up, the cultural notion of community demonstrates us “the thing” which holds individuals together. Shared symbolism, in this sense, is a main ingredient of community. For example, in the theory of “culture of poverty”, shared symbolism of the poor also means having common values and belief system. (Erdogan, 2000). Moreover, shared symbolism is outcome of shared narratives and experience, and also, shared symbolism is conveyed by interactions between persons implied by relations. Yet, it is known the relations also set via public practices and performances. In this respect, community as public practices and performances will not be a wrong definition. That is, “community” as public practices and performances which produce symbols.

As mentioned above, the studies also bring a theoretical understanding on Community as Culture and reveal the role of community on identity and belonging. The concept of identity will be discussed as a component of concept of boundary because discoursing the concept of boundary offers a wider perspective to gain understanding on the role of community on society such as its relation power, its role on exclusions etc. The concept of belonging, moreover, will be debated under relational settings of community. Hence, the upcoming part will focus on the concept of boundary and relational setting of community.

3.2.1.1. Boundary

The previous chapter of the thesis gives a clue about the fact the boundary of community has an important role on how the community has relations with other communities or the other, and among insiders. To illustrate, the discussions on “Ideal Community” offers an extreme example of role of community on conflict, and leading roles were given to “boundary” and “sameness”. In this respect, this content will analyze the relation of boundary and community in detail in terms of both bad and good sides. Thus, the relation of boundary and community will be put on table with the contexts such as social identification and social identity, the role of community on power relations and exclusions in detail.

It is nice to remember the debate on how people become a group in the content of “Definition of Community” of the second chapter. It was mentioned that thickness, form, etc. of the

boundary might differ or change by making an analogy between geometric shapes and group formation. This analogy is also certainly suitable for the boundaries of community. Now, it needs to ask how and why the boundary changes. “Community” is a social entity effected by interactions, and there are constantly interactions. The frequency and quantity of these interactions have been increasing so much more in globalization era. As result of interactions, communities are changing. This change also means that the boundary of “community” is being re-drawn with regard to outcomes of these interactions. Hence, “community” always includes boundary work, which contains, according to the statement of Blokland (2017, pg. 9.16), “the creation of distinctive, discrete units through social process of doing community together, as a practice.” boundary work is a practice because it is dynamic, affected social interaction and situations.

According to concept of community as culture, the thing what “community” is, is determined with how “community” occurs. Int “community” is occurred through boundary work, but at the same time, “community” is practices which consist of boundary work. The next parts will focus on the role of boundary which plays on important on social identification and identity, and exclusions. With regard to previous statement, this also means the role of community.

3.2.1.1.1. Social Identification and Social Identity

“Man is by nature a social animal” (Aristoteles)

Before focusing on the relation between boundary and social identity, it is significant to discuss what “social identity” means for us-human beings. Social identity is an existential need for human beings to be able to define themselves. Due to “Social Identity”, we can define who we are, who I am, who you are, who is(he) is etc. (Zijderveld 2017, pg. 132 cited in Blokland, 2017). The development of empathy, sympathy, and cooperation is also possible if “social identity” is there. (Blokland 2017, pg. 9:16). In other words, Blokland (2017) states that, “We defined, redefined ourselves in the process of socialization, social interaction- or social practice (Jenkins 1996, pg.20 cited in Blokland 9:16 2017)”

Moreover, Blokland (2017) points out how different social entities are defined divergently. In this respect, since identification is social, she (2017, pg.9:16) claims that,

- “a collectivity that defines itself, i.e., social groups define themselves
- a collectivity is identified and defined by others, i.e., social categories are defined by others

- Social identity is the outcome of both these processes of definition – internal and external.”

In other words, the process of social identification evolves the process of definition of social group and categories. This process refers also to boundary drawing. Hence, boundary drawing is also a requirement for the experiences of identity. The practice of drawing boundary between sameness and difference proceeds the creation of identity. Moreover, since difference is found in symbolism, according to Cohen (1986, pg.2 cited in Blokland 2017), “Community as culture has become a practice of symbolic identity making through practices – a process in which the same things may have different meanings.”

The debates on “community as culture” presented above already demonstrate that community as culture also means community as public practices and performances. According to the statement of Cohen, likewise community as culture includes practices which construct symbolic identities, it also evolves practices which preform symbolic identity. In brief, community has an inherent connection with social identities. (Blokland 2017, pg.9:16). Blokland also put an emphasis on that, “The community draws its importance precisely from the existential need to shape and reshape identities through relations with others.”

3.2.1.1.2. Exclusions and Inclusions

As mentioned above, community as practices and performance includes boundary work which both constructs and is constructed by social identification and identity. In fact, boundary work means to draw ones who are excluded. Hence, there are three topics that will be discussed respectively as the meaning of exclusion, its relationship with power mechanisms, its representations in place.

Firstly, any kind of division means the determination of inclusions and exclusions so that group process of boundary work evolves performances of exclusions and inclusions. This is because any kind of inclusion requires to exclude some elements as well. Even the preparation of baggage supports this claim. For example, during the preparation to the baggage, while you are choosing which ones of your clothes you will put in the baggage, at the same time you had already chosen which ones you will not put in. In this example, the boundary work is drawn between clothes within and not within the baggage. The process of choosing clothes represents performances of inclusion and exclusion. Hence, according to Blokland (2017, pg. 9:16) social identity is exclusionary. In this regard, Blokland (2013, pg. 9:16, de Jong 1986, pg.27) states that there are three reasons of occurrence of exclusions in our social life; a set of practices

which define who we are, how we are defined by our social environment socially and “what sort of relations we developed with other in that environment.”

3.2.1.2. The Concept of Community and Power Relations

Power within community cannot be denied, indeed, exclusions are performed by power mechanisms. Foucault (1995) describes power mechanism with three different models such as sovereign power, disciplinary power, and security power. According to Stavrides (2009), these powers lead boundaries, classifications, and categorizations of “communities” because power mechanism works for social normalization that is required for the sustainability of capitalism. In this regard, sovereign power determines the boundary of how far outsider’s approach. Stavrides (2009, pg.18) states that

Foucault’s reasoning, sovereign power is based on juridical mechanisms which regulate the behavior of the specific community’s members by explicitly excluding certain forms of social life and those who embody them. Thus, sovereign power creates, marks, and stigmatizes outside. (Stavrides 2009, pg.18)

In brief, the community which has sovereign power can perform elimination, discrimination, labelling and stigmatization. Stavrides (2009, pg. 18) gives gated communities as an example of this community. Entrance to gated communities is allowed only the members of this community, the mental and spatial boundary of gated community are rather thick, makes impossible to approach. For gated communities, Stavrides (2009, pg.19) states that the administration of gated community may have an authority on control jurisdictions and responsibilities. That is, gated communities might play an important role on the increase of conflict. The second power is disciplinary power. Different from sovereign power, disciplinary power determines the classification of insiders. It also classifies normal and determines how to carefully draw boundary to isolate threatening “the other” (Foucault 2009: 47 cited in Stavrides 2009, pg.18). In this sense, Blokland interprets elites who has sovereign and disciplinary power. She (2017, pg.9:16) states that

elites' practices of dividing and ruling form and maintain communities as well: politics is a powerful creator of community sentiments. it generates them by strengthening internal cohesion and by drawing boundaries of exclusion. (Blokland 2017, 9:16)

The last model is security power. Stavrides (2009, pg.28) claims that security mechanism supported by the advancing liberalist reasoning is also the heart of governing cities. Security power is related with urban populations not individuals etc. but it is also required the proper

behavior which defines to be normal. Security power is also used to provide order in society. The context of “community as providing security”, the concept of community is seen as a potential to apply security power. Their negative circumstances have already been introduced under this context.

While Blokland describes the relationship between power and community, she also implies the example of rooted communities in neighborhood. the space is representation of power mechanisms in society. (Lefebvre,1974) In fact, the relationship between power and community is clearly read through space. However, according to the statement of Harvey (1996, pg. 264 cited in Stavrides), because the relations between “self” and “other” is a spatiotemporal construction, even social identification is constructed with a spatiotemporal construction.

when the community as practice involves collective actions with claims regarding urban space, the hierarchy of places that characterizes the city becomes a hierarchy of communities and identities, furthering discriminations, and opportunity hoarding. (Harvey 1996, pg.264)

Foucault states that space plays an important role for power mechanisms. In this respect, Stavrides (2009, pg.19) states that

Whereas sovereign power uses space to control those people whom power identifies as subjects of a situated set of rules, disciplinary power uses space to situate, classify and mould those subjects not simply as subjects of law (or ‘subjected’ to law) but as members of a specific social articulation that reproduces itself through everyday life activities. (Stavrides 2009, pg.19)

3.2.1.3. Relational Setting of Belonging

Relational setting of community answers questions of how members of community are related with each other, what kind of relations is set up among members of community, how a sense of belonging in community is established, what kind of relations produce “community”. Durable engagements, fluid encounters and social ties provide relational setting of community.

3.2.1.3.1. Durable Engagements

Community as culture means practices which create a shared positioning, a shared narrative of belonging and a shared set of experiences and shared symbolism through practices. Shared and recognized symbolism cannot be constituted by singular virtual or physical experiences in strange place. The construction of shared and recognized symbolism is possible only if there are repeated interactions, multiple contexts of encountering others and an encompassing

experience of sameness together with the boundary-drawing experience of difference (Blokland 2013, pg.10:16). Durable engagements, in this regard, includes all requirements above.

“To engage” means a practice of participating and committing one-self so that durable engagements include a practice of participating and committing one-self. Durable engagements do not have to become social ties because durable engagements continue even though participants leave as long as their roles in durable engagements is performed by new participants. Blokland explains by giving an example whose subject is herself. In this regard, she (2013, pg.9:16) states that

I engage in a school's parent–teacher association (PTA), the PTA disappears when the school closes, and most or all of my relations are lost. Second if I quit my role as a representative in the PTA, someone else will take over, and the durable engagements will continue. (Blokland 2013, pg. 9:16)

With regard to her example, in the first example as durable engagements collapsed, her relations are lost. Yet, in the second example, even though her relations with the PTA is lost, durable engagements continue because her role is still performing. That is, shared “thing” of durable engagements is the role which is performed in durable engagements. Blokland (2013, pg.10:16) summarizes the explanation of durable engagements as follows; “durable engagements are the social relationships of people who engage with an institution or activity over time and form attachments that do not depend on their interactions as persons.”

3.2.1.3.2. Fluid Encounters

Fluid encounters are the encounters constantly realized in the flow of daily life. Blokland (2017) thinks that the greater attention ought to be given to such encounters during theorizing the community. According to Blokland, these encounters contain all the interactions that are unplanned and happen. Fluid encounters differ from durable engagements such that two persons do not have the aims of re-meeting or in other words any substantive aim, and whether two persons come across or not do not effect on their routines. That is, fluid encounters also mean fluid interactions which do not have any impact on people’s routines. Yet still, these encounters can be seen as social ties because of including an orientation to the other (Blokland 2013, pg.10:16).

3.2.1.3.3. Social Ties in Relational Setting of Belonging

A sense of belonging is described as outcome of practices or performances or social practice in front of others instead of a feeling, which are performed in urban spaces which provide important stages (Blokland 2017:7/16, Helbrecht and Dirkmeier 2013: 286). In other words, a sense of community can also be described as the outcome of community. “Community” always produces or practices a sense of belonging although all groups who include a sense of belonging does not mean “community”. To explore to which kind of ties produce or do not produce community, social ties as relational setting of belonging will be examined further.

There are four different types of social ties categorized by Blokland (2013) such as Bonds, Attachments, Transactions, Interdependencies. These ties are defined through social actions. Blokland (2017) gives a place to the categorization for social actions developed by Max Weber. In this regard, Table 2 displays that,

Table 2.2

SOCIAL ACTIONS categorized by Max Weber (Source: Blockland, 2013 pg.9:16)

Non-Rational Actions	Rational Actions
<p>Traditional non-rational actions arise from the imitation of customs and therefore derive only part of their significance from orientations to others</p>	<p>Instrumentally rational (zweckrational) that is, determined by expectations as to the behavior of objects in the environment and of other human beings; these expectations are used as ‘conditions’ or ‘means for the attainment of the actor's own rationally pursued and calculated ends. (Ibid., 24)</p>
<p>Affective non-rational actions are often affective performances inspired by emotions.</p>	<p>Value-rational (wertrational) that is, determined by a conscious belief in the value for its own sake of some ethical, aesthetic, religious or other form of behavior, independent of its prospects of success. (Ibid., 24–5)</p>

Table 2 aims to explain traditional non-relational actions, affective non-relational actions, instrumentally relational actions, and value relational because social ties as relational setting of belonging. These social actions produce social ties as relational setting of belonging. Table 2.2. shows the features of different social ties such as bonds, attachments, interdependencies,

and transactions. Moreover, Table 2.2. clarifies the relationship between social ties and community formation.

Table 3.2	
<i>Social Ties as Relational Setting Of Belonging (Source: Blockland, 2017 pg.9:16)</i>	
Different Types of Social Ties	The Main Features of Social Ties
Attachments	<p>Attachments are based on the value of rationality. They are ideal-type relations without a central goal, in which performances are intrinsically experienced as meaningful. There does not always have to be interaction with others, or with everyone. We may feel attached to others and focus our performances on them even if those others do not exist for us as concrete individuals. Attachments can constitute performances through which we experience community and social identification.</p>
Bonds	<p>Are social relations with affective orientations. People bond with unique individuals, who are not simply interchangeable. Bonds based on affection thus thrive as a result of sympathy and shared values. They are not primarily instrumental; they have a relatively confidential character; and most importantly they involve others as unique individuals as persons. A mutual recognition of cultural sameness increases the likelihood that value-rational interactions will be conducive to personal bonds. Bonds may constitute a community.”</p>
Interdependencies	<p>“All relations contain some kind of dependency. Here this concept refers to relations with two characteristics First, person-to-person interaction may be absent, very brief or very incidental. Second, relations may be instrumental at a higher level of abstraction without being rational or affective for the individual agents involved. In fact, conflicts over the appropriation of space show the workings of independencies in many places in the world where such conflicts arise. Interdependencies are, moreover, a strong relational structure for boundary work. As we have seen in our discussion of social identification, drawing group boundaries presupposes the presence of others who can be labelled different.</p>
Transactions	<p>“Are social relations with instrumentally rational orientations. Transactions arising from instrumentally rational orientations of practices relate to roles rather than to individuals.”</p>

3.3. Why is Community Formation of Advanced Marginalized Group as a Social Entity of Neoliberal Urban Change Not Possible?

Advanced marginalized group is a social entity, which resulted from urban marginalization. Thus, this section investigates the concept of urban marginalization with respect to The Experiences of Advanced Marginalized Group in Şirindere. Theoretical framework of urban marginalization is based on Loic Wacquant's studies and arguments. By respecting to research method of Loic Wacquant, this chapter is organized by combining the theoretical framework of urban marginalization and the researchers' ethnographic studies and observations in the field based on historical analysis.

The theoretical framework of urban marginalization was constructed by Loic Wacquant. Depending on his observations on the population of US ghettos and French banlieues, Loic Wacquant (1996, pg. 123) proposes distinctive properties of urban marginalization by comparing the features of urban poverty in the postwar era of "Fordist" growth and prosperity. These properties are as below:

- wage labor & the damage of all elements
- functional disconnection from macroeconomic trends
- territorial stigmatization or
- territorial alienation, or dissolution of "place"
- loss of hinterland
- socio-symbolic fragmentation

The three main properties of urban marginalization such as territorial stigmatization, socio-symbolic fragmentation, and loss of hinterland will be analyzed in this section because these properties explain how people who work informal and illegal works because of neoliberal economic policies are socially marginalized, discriminated and labelled and how the relations of these people with are affected.

3.3.1. Loss of Hinterland

Before the post-Fordist era, the inhabitants of "ghetto" in Chicago used to be a densely knit web of neighborhood-based organizations, which helped the decrease of negative effects of economic hardship. (Wacquant 1996, pg. 127) Yet Wacquant states that the hinterland in Chicago is lost in the post-Fordism as an outcome the fact that the inhabitants of ghetto were

not wage earners anymore. Similarly, Mercan and Şen (2021, pg. 606 & 616) state that the same transformation is observed in the area of gecekondu in Altındağ in the 1970s. They claim that the inhabitants of the squatter areas had wider family ties and connection with their rural homes, that is, they used to have solidarity networks which supports their household budget and as their protective social closure against strangers and law enforcement agencies. However, due to the neoliberal market ethos in Turkey, urban poverty is marginalized, and these people lost their solidarity networks.

Wacquant (1996, pg. 127), furthermore, draws attention because of loss of hinterland, to survive the inhabitants of ghetto:

must resort to individual strategies of 'self-provisioning', 'shadow work', underground commerce and quasi-institutionalized 'hustling' (Gershuny 1983; Smith 1986; Inchiesta 1986; Pahl 1987; EEC 1989; Wacquant 1994b; Bourgois 1995)

Combining the rise of contemporary patterns of inequality due to the distributional consequences of the pattern of informal work with loss of hinterland causes “youths who engage in underground work often have every chance of being durably marginalized” (Wacquant 1996, pg.127)

Firstly, in the case of Şirindere, there is no certain information about how the solidarity network of old inhabitants in Şirindere Valley *has affected in the years between 1990-2012*. However, it is known that Şirindere is marginalized after 2000. The happenings in 2012 might prove the decrease in solidarity of networks of old inhabitants.

As already mentioned above, old inhabitants of Şirindere Valley can be defined as advanced marginalized until 2012. The criminalization was observed in the area after 2012. Regarding to statements of Interviewee 1 information about the urban transformation project of this area was leaked to among those people in the years between 2005-2012. Negotiations with those people were made through cooperatives as if this project would absolutely be implemented. Knowing that they will not be able to afford the buildings to be built in the project, the old inhabitants were divided into two. In 2012, while 200 households have left their homes in a very short time, 50 households remain to live in the valley. This division demonstrates that they did not act collectively. In this sense, Mercan and Şen (2021, pg.604) states that,

The rotating poverty not only dissolved solidarity networks but also further loosened the protective social closure that previously regulated the inner city. Weakening social bonds cleared away any resistance to the regeneration projects. (Mercan & Şen 2021, pg.604)

There is no other information about the relations of those 50 households with the newcomers. It is only known the statement of Interviewee 1 during in-dept interview. While Interviewee 1 talks about the complaints of Çiğdem Neighborhood Community about criminal activities after 2012, he states that, “they (the old inhabitants) also had many complaints, and they are happy for the abandonment of paper collectors (Interviewee 1)”

Yet, the fact that they must continue to live in Şirindere despite the occurrence of criminality in the region may also be due to the decrease in solidarity networks. Furthermore, building or having solidarity networks is impossible in these circumstances. However, it is important to underline, for the case of Şirindere, that we do not have information about how youth of old inhabitants has affected from living in criminal area. It is not known whether youth of old inhabitants also join the drug business or not. Therefore, I cannot correlate the increase of criminal activities with lack of solidarity networks.

Even though solidarity networks of people who started to live in Şirindere is highly knit because all of them are relatives with each other and they migrated from rural land to urban land recently, it cannot be stated there is no loss of hinterland. However, there is no certain information about how living in Ankara affect their solidarity networks, and criminal activities might also be occurred as a way of solidarity networks.

3.3.2. Territorial Stigmatization and Socio-Spatial Fragmentation

The news about Şirindere, statements of local authorities and the head of ÇiğdeMİM obviously display that Şirindere might be defined as an example to territorial stigmatization in Turkey respecting to literature review. In the beginning of pandemic, Pınar Ögünç, (12 November 2020, URL4: <https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/yazarlar/2020/04/21/insanlarin-bize-hep-bir-sosyal-mesafesi-varidim>) made an interview with a young man who is a paper *troller*. She draws attention to his statement: “I normally used to be avoided as “diseased”. Similarly, the people, i.e., paper *trollers* used to live in Şirindere feel the same way. They are the people who are unwanted, invisibles, discriminated, the *others* not only for Çiğdem Neighborhood Community, but also for majority of the society. They are dirty, are like plague-stricken etc. These descriptions, unfortunately, are not exaggerated. These descriptions are literally made by many people in society. Moreover, it is observed that those advanced marginalized people mostly live in spaces called as “Varoş”

The original meaning of word “varoş” has parallelism with the signification of marginalized. The root of marginalized is “margin”, accordingly, the significance of “marginalized” is being

on the border, outside the border. Similarly, Mustafa Şen and Ali Baran Mercan (2021, pg. 613) mention the significance of word “Varoş” that “Varoş is originally a Hungarian word referring to the settlement ‘outside the city walls’ whose residents live in poverty-stricken conditions and mostly engage in criminal activities.”

Loic Wacquant (2010a, pg.5) states that *ghettos* in USA, *favelas* in Brazil, *villa miseria* in Argentina *varoş* in Turkey etc. represents the places in the lowest level of hierarchical system in metropolis in other words, the stigmatized neighborhoods. Wacquant (2010, pg.8) also mentions that:

They are known, to outsiders and insiders alike, as the 'lawless zones', the 'problem estates', 'the no-go or the wild districts' of the city, territories of deprivation and areas dereliction to be feared, fled from and shunned because they are – or such is their reputation, but in these matters, perception contributes powerfully to fabricating reality - hotbeds of violence, vice and social dissolution.(Wacquant 2010, pg.8)

At the present time, those neighborhoods are associated with the concepts such as poverty, violence, harsh living conditions, many criminal activities, etc. In addition to so many bad images, it is seen the metaphoric relation between *the hell* and these places. For example, there are some academic studies which the term of *the hell* is directly used for *ghettos* (Lance Freeman 2019). Using this metaphor for these places make people who are living in such places stigmatized once again. In addition to judge these places as hell, it also categorizes these people as criminals, bad, violent people, sinner etc. As if living in these places is the punishment of those people. So, who punishes those people? Who created *the hell*?

Before deepening this question, it is essential to point out the discourse used by people and academic studies for these places. This is because the used discourse might prevent to analyze, understand what it is really happening in these places. Wacquant criticizes to directly stigmatize the places which has similar socio-economic living conditions as “ghetto” etc. He (2010a, pg. 8) explains the reason of his critic as “that operate as mere metaphors calling forth an emotive imagery that hides fundamental structural and functional difference thereby stopping inquiry just where it should get going.”

Respecting on his critics, leaving these metaphors behind is a serious subject. To understand the reality, to see all reasons of these consequences, it must be looked at the reality with open-minded, objectively by analyzing micro and macro relations.

Loic Wacquant (1996, pg.125) explains territorial stigmatization of advanced marginality as follow:

Advanced marginality tends to concentrate in well-identified, bounded, and increasingly isolated territories viewed by both outsiders and insiders as social purgatories, urban hellholes where only the refuse of society would accept to dwell. (Wacquant 1996, pg.125)

In line with this Mercan and Şen (2021, pg. 613) draws attention to discourse used by public authorities and law enforcements to mention territorial stigmatization of *Altındağ*. They state that, “As Hatiboğlu Erman and highlight using the words of a speech by the mayor of Altındağ: ‘Invaders live in the houses left by their owners, there are troublemakers. Crime dominates the neighborhoods.’(Mercan & Şen 2021, pg.613)

According to the news about Şirindere mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the way of speaking of public authorities about Şirindere is exactly as same as the case of Altındağ. Furthermore, Bauman (2000) mentions territorial stigmatization does not only affect the relations between stigmatized people and others negatively, but also the relation among stigmatized people. He (2000, pg. 186) states that “A stigmatized person may like or dislike another bearer of stigma, stigmatized individuals may live in peace or be at war with each other- but one thing they are unlikely to do is to develop (Bauman 2000, pg.186)

The title of the news, dated 12th November 2020, published by Anadolu Agency (URL5: <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/turkiye/suclulara-barinak-olan-metruk-mekanlar-yikiliyor/2041378>) is “The derelict buildings which transformed to host **the criminals** are demolishing”. The news continues as Süleyman Soylu, who is a Minister of Internal Affairs, gave instructions to demolish the derelict and illegal houses throughout demands of a mukhtars and local governments. This news, relies on the press conference made in the area after the demolition, is about *slums* in Şirindere Valley, Çiğdem Neighborhood. In the press conference, Hüyadar Mete Buhara, who is the district governor of Çankaya, informs about the process of the demolition. Furthermore, Hüyadar Mete Buhara (12 November 2022) concluded his speech with these words: “We will give effort to make these areas worthy of our Ankara, by cleaning these areas which host crimes such as drug and alcohol use, and prostitution.”

Besides, Hasan Hüseyin Aslan, the mukhtar of Çiğdem Neighborhood made statements about the problems of area in Şirindere valley in the press briefing made after the demolition in the area. Hasan Hüseyin Aslan (12 November 2021) said that:

Neighborhood community is grateful for this situation. Unfortunately, for a long time, we had been struggling against this problem in our neighborhood. There have already been registries about all kind of illegal acts were committed in police headquarters

(published in 12 November 2020) (URL: 6
<https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=563516411162736>)

According to the statement of Mustafa Koç who is Head of Department of Municipal Police of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, 224 number of derelict houses (*gecekondus*), 154 number of outhouses and tents were demolished. He also spoke about people who used to live Şirindere. Mustafa Koç (URL7: <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/turkiye/suclulara-barinak-olan-metruk-mekanlar-yikiliyor/2041378>) claims that “There were 650 paper trollers.150 people turned back to Gaziantep. For others, we show different places to live in Ankara”

However, Interviewee 2, in the deep interview, stated that

Some of them went to Solfasol, some of them went to Hurdacılar Sitesi. Because my husband’s pharmacy is in Solfasol, what an interesting coincidence, I still receive news about them. You know they have a religious leader (Şih) who lives in Solfasol, in Altındağ District ...He took those who have better living conditions next to himself. He guided the others to Hurdacılar Sitesi. (Interviewee 2)

According to the explanations of local authorities in the press briefing, there are two different expressions for people who used to live in Şirindere such as criminals and paper trollers. By those authorities, it is expressed as if the criminals and paper trollers are different from each other, and the reason of occurrence of the crime is also “the derelict buildings (slum, *gecekondus*)”). Yet, the real picture is not like that.

Regarding my observations in the field and the deep interviews, it is quite clear that many members of neighborhood community of Çiğdem Neighborhood blames those people living in Şirindere valley, called as ‘paper trollers’, for the crime in the area. They claim that the crime appeared in the area, after those people started to live there. During the deep interview, Interviewee 1 also states that “we do not discriminate those people, but in the area, there were illegal methods such as area robbery, gunfights, dog shows, dog trade, heroin & cannabis trade, damaging Çiğdem Neighborhood (Interviewee 1)”

In brief, the reason beyond why “advanced marginalized group” as a social entity under neoliberal urban transformation cannot be defined as “community” is discussed on this section. Thus, the three main properties of urban marginalization such as territorial stigmatization, socio-symbolic fragmentation, and loss of hinterland explains how people who work informal and illegal works because of neoliberal economic policies are socially marginalized, discriminated and labelled and how the relations of these people with are affecte

CHAPTER 4

FIELD RESEARCH OF CIGDEM NEIGHBORHOOD AND SIRINDERE

This chapter explores and analyzes the role of Çiğdem Community on the conflict, the role of ÇiğdeMIM on relationship between Çiğdem Community and People living in Şirindere, limitations of community formation under neoliberal transformation. The theoretical framework of thesis displayed community formation under neoliberal transformation is rather different traditional community formation. Hence, community formation is analyzed by applying assemblage analysis and focusing on the relations of “community” (among insiders, with “outsiders”, i.e., by analyzing exclusionary mechanisms (boundary drawing), relational setting of belonging.

Table 4.1 Analysis of Transformation of Community Formation of Social Entities in Çiğdem Neighborhood and Şirindere

Çiğdem Neighborhood		Şirindere	
1950-1980	<u>Rural Communities</u>	1950-1970	<u>Rural Communities</u>
Populist coalition	homogeneous and small social entities (traditional community formation) Working-class movement <u>Community as a Social Machinery</u> with regard to the theory of Zibechei	Populist coalition	homogeneous and small social entities (traditional community formation)
	- Working-class movement - The construction of <i>Gecekondus</i>	1970-1980	<u>Rural Communities</u>
	-	Populist coalition	<u>Community as a Social Machinery</u> with regard to the theory of Zibechei
	-		- Working-class movement - The construction of - <i>Gecekondus</i>

1981-1990 Neoliberal Urban Coalition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The era of Neoliberal Urban Transformation, - Urban Marginalization in Turkey started to be observed. - Demolishment of <i>gecekondus</i> - Construction of high-rise buildings, <u>Dispersed fragmented enclosed gated communities</u> for middle groups – As a form of “Ideal Communities” 	1981-2000 Neoliberal Urban Coalition 1991-2000	Disappearance of Community Formation The era of transformation from community than advanced marginalized group
1991-2021 Neoliberal Urban Coalition	Community Formation under neoliberal urban change <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Exclusionary Mechanisms - Relational Setting of Community The establishment of ÇiğdeMİM for community formation of Çiğdem Neighborhood	2000-2012	Advanced Marginalized Groups
		2012-2021	Advanced Marginalized Groups & Criminalized Advanced Marginalized Groups

4.1. General Information of ÇiğdeMİM

Interviewee 1 in in-depth interview tells the story of establishment of ÇiğdeMİM in 1996 as follow:

I have been living in Çiğdem Neighborhood since 1991. Let's put the establishment of Şirindere this way. I noticed that the mukhtar of Çiğdem Neighborhood had difficulties about archiving the information of inhabitants of Çiğdem Neighborhood. I had started to help him to transfer this achieves to the computer, after a while we become 5 people to support the mukhtar, and the road of school was problematic, needs to be covered by asphalt. We solved this problem with the collaboration of the mukhtar. Because Çiğdem Neighborhood was a new neighborhood, it used to have so many infrastructure and environment problems and the relationships of neighborhoods needed to be improved. Thus, to be paid regard to government agencies, we had decided the establishment of association. (Interviewee 1)

Accordingly, this group with the collaboration of the *mukhtar* established association of under the name ‘Çiğdem Education, Environment and Solidarity Association” in 1996 (Erman, T, Coşkun-Yildar, M 2007, pg. 2558). Erman and Coşkun-Yildar (2007: pg. 2558) adds that “...an ‘m’ was added to the title, showing the association’s strong sense of ownership of the locality”

Erman and Coşkun-Yildar (2007, pg.2559) explains that the goals of ÇiğdeMİM in 2007 were the following: creating sense of community and enhancing the quality of “The Neighborhood Life”, in this sense their sub goals were defined as

- To create a **green and clean** environment
- To create a cosmopolitan local identity
- To “**regenerate**” Şirindere valley.

During in-depth interview in 2022, when the researcher, the asked “Could ÇiğdeMİM create sense of community in the neighborhood?”. Interviewee 1 claims that

We had already solved it, even we participated to workshop organized by STGM⁵ 4 years ago. They told us there “You already completed your mission, so you should create new mission and vision, in this sense, we started to work on it. (Interviewee 1)

Accordingly, on the website of ÇiğdeMİM, updated on 20th June 2020, ÇiğdeMİM remarks their goals, as follows:

- To be “**Neighborhood Community**”⁶
- To be a neighborhood*, whose all individuals (regardless of their age, gender, and disability) are happy neighborhood⁷
- To actively participate the process of decision making of local and state governments

ÇiğdeMİM describes the meaning of being “Neighborhood Community” as:

- To have a sense of community (solidarity, moving and acting together, a good neighbor relations)
- To have a sense of community organization (participating all decision-making process, supporting authorities and other organizations while enhancing the quality of “The Neighborhood Life”)

⁵ STGM: Sivil Toplum Geliştirme Merkezi

⁶ Mahalleli olmak

⁷ “Mahalle olmak”

In line with these purposes, the number of official members of ÇiğdeMİM is 667 on January in 2022, the number of people of their mail group set up for informing their neighbors is 4115 at the present time. The Head of ÇiğdeMİM is selected by votes of its member, Interviewer1 has been selecting for 18-19 with regard to his statement. While its board of management is recently consisted of 15 people, its board of control is comprised of 6 people. Interviewer 1 describes the profile of members of ÇiğdeMİM as follows: “The average age of our members is 55, most of them retired people, around 75 percentage of our members is woman. (Interviewee 1)”

ÇiğdeMİM has been carrying out several projects, meetings and works. It also takes advantages of EU Grants. ÇiğdeMİM actively continue to work for their goals.

In the process of time, however, the members of ÇiğdeMİM began to carry out to these projects in themselves, instead of the collaboration of a foundation. The scope of these projects is shortened, and these projects are voluntarily conducted with the guidance of members of ÇiğdeMİM. In the direction of the aims mentioned above, thus, ÇiğdeMİM organized Rhythm Workshop for kids who live in Şirindere in the years between 2017 and 2020 under the leadership of a member of ÇiğdeMİM, who is a member of ÇiğdeMİM and an inhabitant of Çiğdem Neighborhood, with the support of a voluntary music teacher and other voluntaries. I was also one of voluntaries during the years between 2018-2019.

Regarding arguments of the members of ÇiğdeMİM, the people who live in Şirindere have always been “the stranger” for Inhabitants of ÇiğdeMİM. These people were unknown where they came from. Their way of living, their appearances, their gestures, their dresses etc. were too different, and eldritch for the inhabitants of Çiğdem Neighborhood. Since the day they have arrived, their peace in their neighborhood began to be lost. Interviewer 5 being a member of ÇiğdeMİM and resident of Çiğdem Neighborhood, stated in 2019 that mostly shots were heard from Şirindere, she witnessed in many times violent behaviors of these people, especially male adolescents. She also emphasized that the most inhabitants of Çiğdem feared being in the street after sunset. The statements of Elvan Akbay expressions in her writing for e-journal of ÇiğdeMİM supports this statement of Interviewer 5 Moreover, criminal activities of inhabitants of Şirindere are known. Indeed, Elvan Akbay, in her writing published in 2020 (9 December 2020, URL8: <https://www.cigdemim.org.tr/?p=13058>) mentions that four or five years ago, in Şirindere, anti-narcotics operation was carried out by police forces. These people were dangerous for Çiğdem Neighborhood. They did not feel safe in their neighborhood. The borders between people who live in Şirindere Valley and inhabitants of Çiğdem Neighborhood

was already thick due to cultural, economic, social differences. Criminal activities, furthermore, made the conflict increase.

The data from field study were collected through observations and experiences of the researcher for 3 years, e-journals and in-dept interviews. There were certain limitations to carried out study because of the pandemic. The researcher could not conduct in-dept interviews face to face. Thus, in-dept interviews were conducted in online platform Zoom. Data collection is based on my observations and experiences, and interviewee’s experiences and observations

Table 4.2

Interviewees

	Title	Do you live in Çiğdem Neighborhood?	Jobs
Interviewee 1	A head of ÇiğdeMİM	Yes	Retired
Interviewee 2	A Member of ÇiğdeMİM, Leader and Volunteer of Rhythm Course	Yes	Biology Teacher in High School
Interviewee 3	Voluntary Music Teacher	No	Retired
Interviewee 4	Volunteer	No	Retired
Interviewee 5	A member of ÇiğdeMİM	Yes	Housewife

During the in- interviews, Interviewer 1 emphasized especially the participation of process of the decision making local and state governments by talking about aims of ÇiğdeMİM. In this context, he also mentions that

We actively participate to City Councils of both Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara and Municipality of Çankaya. We regularly follow decisions taken about our neighborhood in the municipal councils. (Interviewee1)

In brief, the primary goal of ÇiğdeMİM is to be an active actor in those decision-making processes with regard to other statements of Interviewer 1. In the context, the values of ÇiğdeMİM are explained on the web site as follows: transparent, voluntarily, solidarist,

unprejudiced, participatory, leader, learning organization, politically autonomous. Being autonomous actor is a quiet significance for fighting against the power mechanism. So, is it really autonomous?

4.1.1. Is ÇiğdeMİM autonomous?

Firstly, as Erman and Çoşkun-Yildar (2007, pg. 2563) states the field research in 2007 that, the members of ÇiğdeMİM are committed to social democratic and Republican values, nowadays their commitment is still observed clearly of ÇiğdeMİM. While Interviewer 4 who is a volunteer of Rhythm Course uses talks about her observation about ÇiğdeMİM, Interviewee 4 uses this expression “because they are social democrats”. It is remarkable that ÇiğdeMİM always emphasize their respect to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk on all occasions. For example, a documentary about the reforms about women's rights under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was screened before the performance of Rhythm Group on 8th World Women Day 2019, in the meeting room of ÇiğdeMİM, I also witnessed the use of expressions of “*The modern Turkish women is (...)*” in the same day. Even though Interviewer 2 who is a member of the board of control and the leader of rhythm workshop states in-dept interview that, “Our association is open to everyone, to all different political views (Interviewee 2)” the political orientation of ÇiğdeMİM highly focuses on social democracy and Republican.

Secondly, Erman and Çoşkun-Yildar (2007, pg. 2561&2562) states that because of ideological differences (i.e., secularist vs Islamist) ÇiğdeMİM in Ankara, “tends to be inward-oriented, keeping its relations with political authorities at a minimum”

However, it is seen that it is changed after the transformation about Şirindere in 2012. Interviewee 4 states that,

I think that neighborhood community of Çiğdem Neighborhood never warms to the people in Şirindere since they started to live in 2012 because they also believe that Melih Gökçek knowingly and willfully brought those people in Şirindere as a punishment to Çiğdem Neighborhood. Because the conflict between Melih Gökçek and neighborhood community of Çiğdem Neighborhood, inhabitants of Çiğdem Neighborhood wanted to dispose of them (Interviewee 4)

The rumor about the scenario of punishment of Melih Gökçek was strolling among the members of ÇiğdeMİM. Interviewer 1 explains about this subject that “Yes, it is spoken among our members, but I do not believe that due to Melih Gökçek, the problem of Şirindere appeared. (Interviewee 1)”

Interviewer 2, however, said that she believes these rumors. After Mansur Yavaş was selected to Mayor of Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, from social democrat party, CHP, the demolition of Şirindere was realized. On the website of ÇiğdeMİM, it is written that ÇiğdeMİM requested the meeting of Mansur Yavaş, because of the pandemic, Interviewer1 made a long phone call with Mansur Yavaş. He informed the mayor that the state government was on the case, and if he gave instruction to the necessary unit, ÇiğdeMİM was approaching a solution. In the phone call, Mansur Yavaş said that he would take care of it, and thanks to the instructions of Mansur Yavaş, the Metropolitan Municipality started to pay more attention on this issue. During the in-depth interview, when I asked Interviewee1 (“What could local governments do to solve problems of Şirindere?” Interviewee 1 answers that “Local governments could not do anything because they did not have authorities, so that it needed to the collaboration of state governments. (Interviewee 1)”

ÇiğdeMİM states that they informed the authorities so many times. However, as a researcher, I argue that ÇiğdeMİM communicated the state governments to solve problem of Şirindere once again because they knew that the Mayor of Metropolitan Municipality would support them. In other words, because ÇiğdeMİM and local authorities have same ideological opinions, the relations of ÇiğdeMİM with political authorities might also increase.

Moreover, I asked Interviewer 1 whether ÇiğdeMİM is autonomous or not. Interviewer 1 responded that

We are autonomous, for us, as ÇiğdeMİM, the interest of our neighborhood is essential; in the parallel with; if need be, I unfurled a banner written “We do not want unearned income, we want facility accessible to public” against Çankaya Municipality (Interviewee 1)

Within this context, during the elections of local governments in 2019, I was a volunteer of Rhythm Group in ÇiğdeMİM. One day, while we were practicing playing darbuka with children from Şirindere in the pre-fabric of Şirindere, Interviewee 1 came next to us, he asked for us to continue our practices in the garden of ÇiğdeMİM. After some time, it is heard that Alper Taşdalen, the mayor of Çankaya Municipality, would visit to ÇiğdeMİM. When he and his team around 15 people came close to us by shooting a camera, ÇiğdeMİM asked for us to play one song prepared for our performances. We gave a mini concert to Alper Taşdalen and his team. Interviewer 1 and few members of ÇiğdeMİM had a small talk with Alper Taşdalen. I personally felt annoyed because we were subjected to “The Show for Alper Taşdalen”. This

was so close to the election day of local governments There were different reasons why ÇiğdeMİM acted this way. No matter this show is for the interest of Çiğdem Neighborhood or not, the attitude of ÇiğdeMİM to Alper Taşdalen was not the attitude of autonomous association. Furthermore, while Interviewer 1 explains in 2022 their relationships with local government, he stated that “Local governments are also pleased for us because we are the ears and eyes of them in Çiğdem Neighborhood. (Interviewee 1)”

To sum up, his last expression obviously demonstrates that ÇiğdeMİM is not autonomous organization in the reality. All other expressions, observations support this argument.

4.2. Assemblage Analysis of Çiğdem Community

To analyze Çiğdem Community with regard to assemblage theory, parts which makes whole needs to be determined at first. It is essential to remember that according to Assemblage Theory, the parts need to intertwine each other and whole needs to have emergent property which is different from parts. In this sense, variable roles and process of neighborhood community and organization will be defined at first, then emergent properties of whole will be defined. This analyzes will be done with regard to neighborhood community in the situation of conflict.

First and foremost, the material roles& the expressive roles

The spatial dynamics of neighborhood: Çiğdem Neighborhood is located on hubbly terrain. Şirindere (red area in figure 5?) is a valley. The red lines of Çiğdem Neighborhood in Figure 5 displays the edge of Çiğdem Neighborhood. It also shows that Çiğdem Neighborhood is an isolated an enclosed neighborhood. According to the statements of Interviewee “, the infrastructure of neighborhood is developed after the establishment of ÇiğdeMİM, but the infrastructure of Şirindere problematic. It is a car-oriented neighborhood, the black line in Figure 5 displays the main road of neighborhood.

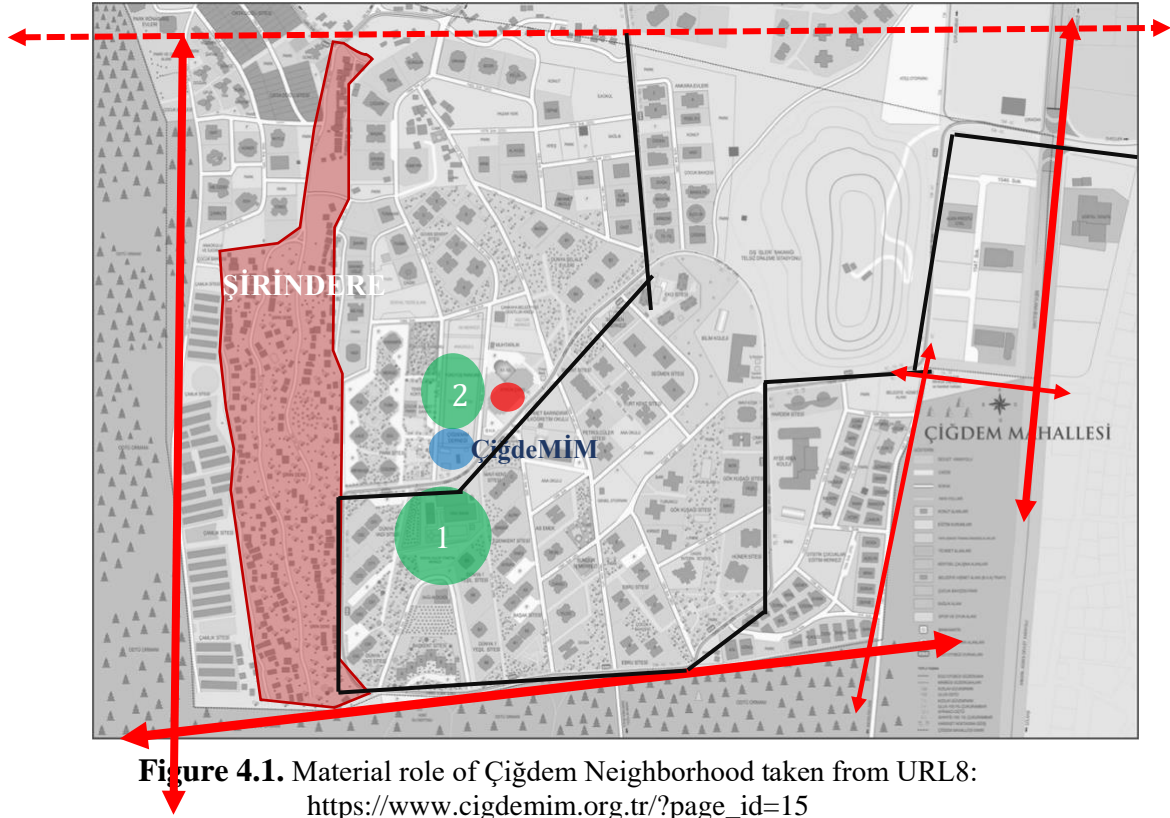


Figure 4.1. Material role of Çiğdem Neighborhood taken from URL8:
https://www.cigdemim.org.tr/?page_id=15

The proximity relationships with neighbors: Some of them have semi-public places in their sites, some of them does not. It is too difficult to reach from somewhere to somewhere by walking. The connection between west side and east side of Şirindere valley is too weak. Both ÇiğdeMİM (blue circle) and Can Yücel Park (green circle numbered 1) are the hearts of neighborhood. Red circle is a cafeteria in Atrium shopping center, this cafeteria is mostly used by members of ÇiğdeMİM. There are different enclosed gated communities. However, it might be stated that activities in Can Yücel park by ÇiğdeMİM and membership of ÇiğdeMİM set up the concept of neighborhood community in Çiğdem Neighborhood. There are currently 664 official members in ÇiğdeMİM in 2022, all of them live in different sites or regions of neighborhood. There is no scientific research but, it might be expected that sense of neighborhood community of members of ÇiğdeMİM is stronger than sense of neighborhood community of other inhabitants of Çiğdem Neighborhood.

When the relation of Çiğdem Neighborhood to outside was observed, it is obviously seen that Çiğdem community was a territorialized, homogeneous neighborhood community. According to the statements of Erman and Çoşkun-Yıldar (2007, pg.2563), Çiğdem community did not want the strangers in their neighborhood. For that manner they state that bus stations were moved out of Çiğdem neighborhood to prevent from coming across the undesirable people,

the consensus of ÇiğdeMİM was easily reached in this case in their research in 2007. However, the conflict causes the increase of territorialization of neighborhood community of ÇiğdeMİM.

Moreover, according to statements of the head of ÇiğdeMİM, all information about neighborhood is collected in ÇiğdeMİM, and this information is sprawled to their neighbors via announcements and meeting of ÇiğdeMİM. (As Figure 6 displays)

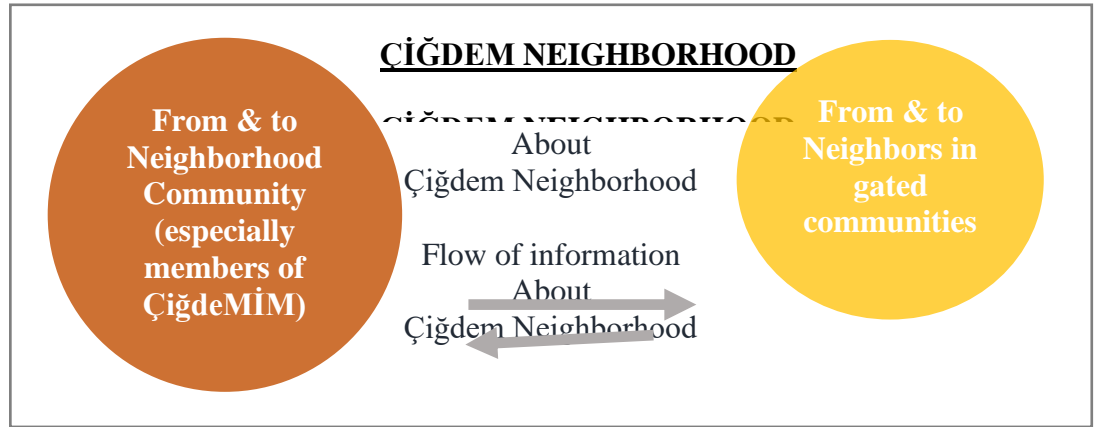


Figure 4.2. The conceptual for flow of information about Çiğdem Neighborhood

In the situation of conflict, however, I observed that information or rumors about Şirindere is sprawled through Çiğdem Community especially members of ÇiğdeMİM regardless of their reliability or not. There are 3 different examples as follows:

- 1) I also personally heard from Interviewer 2 that there were rumors that there also might be prostitution in Şirindere, even though there was any proof about this subject during the period of Rhythm Course.
- 2) The rumor about the scenario of punishment of Melih Gökçek, was sprawling among members of ÇiğdeMİM mentioned in previous content
- 3) During in-depth interview of Interviewer 2 who is also member of ÇiğdeMİM, she stated that,

I personally did not encounter criminal activities of Şirindere, but I heard that our neighbors especially who live in the hedge of Şirindere and Çiğdem Neighborhood complained about Şirindere because the rise of cases of robbery. (Interviewee 2)

Depending on my observations and the statements in deep interviews, it might be stated that the members of ÇiğdeMİM have high density of network relations. They participate regular meetings and activities organized by ÇiğdeMİM for socialization with each other. There is

WhatsApp group which all members are included. Either most of them know each other or familiar to each other. In the line with this information, this neighborhood community might be defined as neighborhood knit community. Therefore, the emergent properties of Çiğdem Neighborhood Community might be reputation and enforcement mechanism. It also explains the reasons of why these rumors about Şirindere sprawls around the neighborhood.

4.3. Relational Settings of Çiğdem Community

Assemblage analysis states that Çiğdem community is described as neighborhood knit community therefore relational setting of Çiğdem Neighborhood includes durable engagement and bonds. In this regard, the relational setting of Çiğdem Community will be discussed with respect to deep interviews and my personal observations.

ÇiğdeMİM produces durable engagements, that is, the roles of actors in ÇiğdeMİM are being constantly performed without noticing participants. For example, the role of head of ÇiğdeMİM has been performing for 16 years. Even Interviewee 1 quits the head of ÇiğdeMİM, the head of ÇiğdeMİM will be performed by another person. Moreover, according to deep interview with Interviewer 2, The head of ÇiğdeMİM continues his duty for 16 years because of his dedication to ÇiğdeMİM but instead of the fear of collapse of ÇiğdeMİM. Interviewer 2 states that

The head of ÇiğdeMİM has been selecting as a head of ÇiğdeMiM by members of ÇiğdeMİM because I am thinking that the head of ÇiğdeMİM had devoted his life to ÇiğdeMİM, given too much effort our association and he is also rather reliable. As you may know, there are money affairs of the association. During his duty, any kind of problem of them does not occur. (Interviewee 2)

Furthermore, through ÇiğdeMİM, Çiğdem Community includes durable engagements. Secondly, fluid encounters have been performing the visitors and Çiğdem Community, also between people who live in Şirindere and people who live in Çiğdem.

Bonds in Çiğdem Community.

- Bond can be observed between the head of ÇiğdeMiM and the mukhtar of Çiğdem Neighborhood. They both are the members of ÇiğdeMİM. They share similar values or ideas for the way of living. (As displayed in figure 4.), they have played important role in the process of destruction of Şirindere. Because of being as an active member

of ÇiğdeMİM, their relationships are lasting. The mukhtar offers his contributions to ÇiğdeMİM not only as a being mukhtar, but also as a volunteer. For example, he also played saxophone in the activities for kids in which we participated as Rhythm Group organized by ÇiğdeMİM. That is, their bonds to ÇiğdeMİM also creates the bond between them

Interdependencies in Çiğdem Community

- The conflict situations include interdependencies between parties of the conflict so that interdependencies are observed between Çiğdem Community and people who live in Şirindere. Even though there is no bonds or attachments between them, they both has an influence on each other. (...) For example, while the crime had been committed in Şirindere, the security of Çiğdem Community had been threatened or, the historical change of the relations between them displays their interdependencies on each other.

4.4. The Historical Analysis of the Change of Relations Among all Actors in Çiğdem Neighborhood

This conceptual study aims to look at the relations between different actors, the historical changes of these relations, how these changes have affected to other relations from a wider perspective. It was created by combining my observations, data of interviews and the historical background of Çiğdem Neighborhood and Şirindere displayed in Figure 4.3.

As to Table 4.3. based on the conceptual, finds answer to questions such as how the relations between Çiğdem Community and Şirindere and among Çiğdem Community have changed from 1996 till 2020 by pointing out all dynamics which have impact on these relations.

Figure 4.3. Conceptual Study on The Relationships Between ÇiğdeMİM, Inhabitants Of Çiğdem Neighborhood And Şirindere & ÇiğdeMİM' Relationships with Local Governments

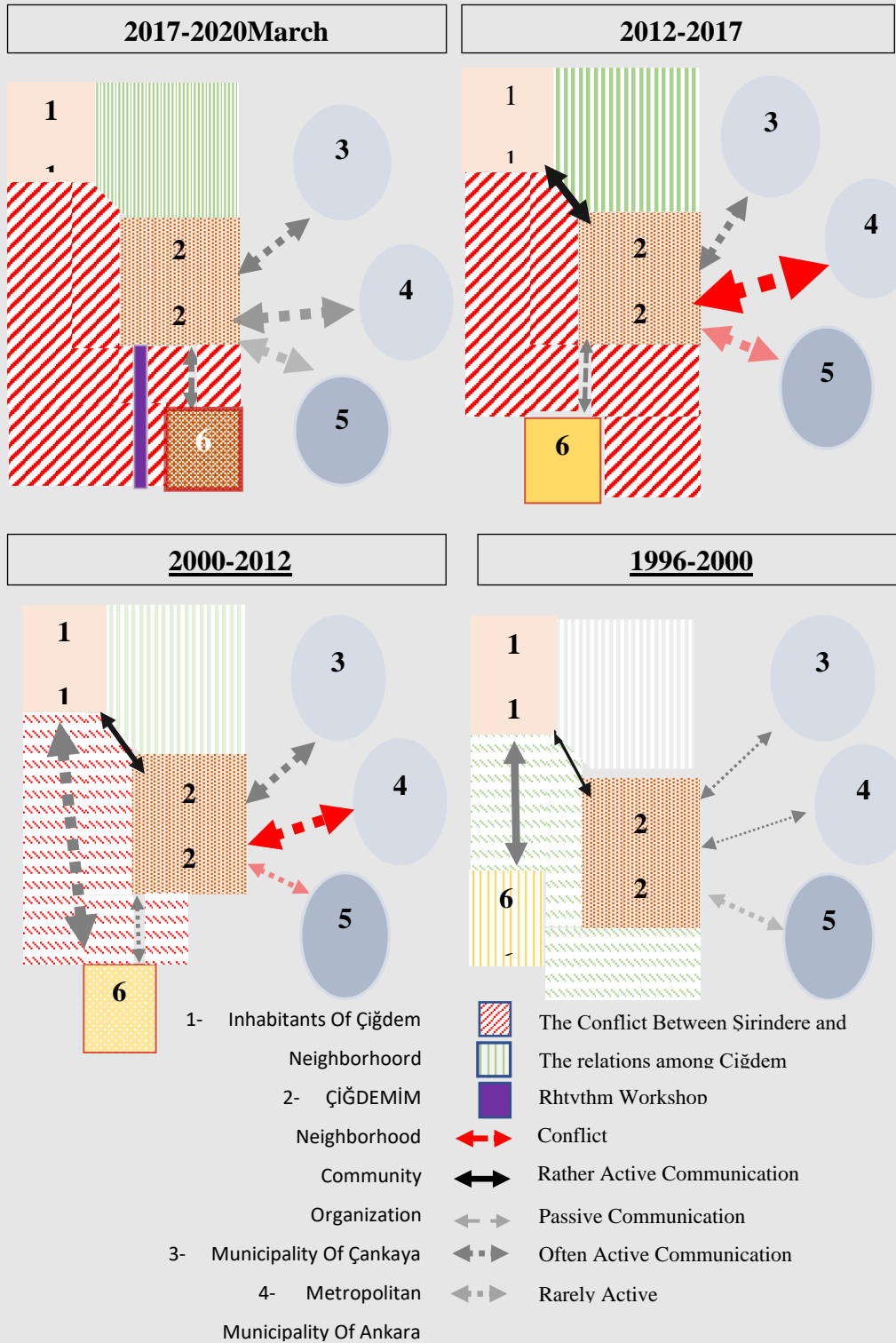


Table 4.2 How The Relations Between Çiğdem Community And Şirindere And Among Çiğdem Community

	How have the relations of insiders of Çiğdem Community changed?	How have the relations between Çiğdem Community and Şirindere changed?
From 1996 Till 2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Dispersed, partial gated communities - de-territorialized communities - neighborhood community building had started - social ties and personal networks had started to be developed through ÇiğdeMİM 	<p>There was no conflict between them. They communicate with each other. However, exclusionary performance of Çiğdem community might be observed. Moreover, the power relation between Çiğdem and Şirindere had observed. ÇiğdeMİM had worked for assimilation of people who live in Şirindere.</p>
From 2000 Till 2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - social ties and personal networks had increased - neighborhood community building had continued 	<p>The change from urban poverty to advanced marginalization made the gap between middle class groups and poor communities broader. Not only this gap has weakened, but also the conflict between them started to slowly appear.</p>
From 2012 Till 2017	<p>The community of Çiğdem Neighborhood was territorialized because of the conflict. The attachments among members have increased because of</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -durable engagements of ÇiğdeMİM - having common enemy, which is Şirindere, i.e., having common aim to fight for. 	<p>Within the migration of paper collector to Şirindere, the conflict between them highly had increased. This is because both Şirindere as being criminalized advanced marginalized group had started to threaten the sense of security of Çiğdem Community and the gap between these people has harshly increased. Moreover, the reason of increase of the conflict because Şirindere has started to be seen a</p>

Table 4.2. continued

		punishment of Melih Gökçek by Çiğdem Community due to conflict btw Melih Gökçek and Çiğdem Community. Discriminations, labelling, stigmatization have been observed.
From 2017 Till 2020 March	-personal networks and social ties have continued to be developed because of the increase of fluid encounters	Discriminations, labelling, stigmatization have continued to be observed. Although the conflict btw them was still harshly there, the practices of rhythm group open a door to have communication among members of Şirindere and Çiğdem Community

4.5. The Role of Çiğdem Community on the Conflict Between Çiğdem Community and Şirindere

Labeling, stigmatization, and assimilation caused to increase the conflict between the parties. This thesis claims that Çiğdem Community labeled, stigmatized, and tries to assimilate to Şirindere being performed by Çiğdem Community. Firstly, Blokland (2017, pg. 12:16) explains how stigmatization and labeling is performed that

Stigmatization (Goffman 1963) and labeling (Gan's 1993) are such performances of boundary work. Gossips, reputation, and other vehicles of social capital constitute such practices, but they require network ties or durable engagements. (Blokland 2017, pg. 12:16)

That is, there are two pillars which carry these performances; the first one is gossips, reputation, and other vehicle of social capitals and the second one is network ties and durable engagements.

So, or does Çiğdem community have these pillars to perform these performances. Yes, Çiğdem Community has performed these performances. According to assemblage analysis of Çiğdem Community, gossips about Şirindere are sprawling in and through Çiğdem Community, and it

has network ties through ÇiğdeMİM. In addition, it has already stated in relational setting of Çiğdem Community that Çiğdem community has durable engagements.

Secondly, one of the aims of ÇiğdeMİM in 2007 (as displayed in 5.1) was to educate people who lived in Şirindere. Thus, these people might have been accepted into the society. As examples of disciplinary power of Çiğdem Community. In other word, Çiğdem community has categorized the rules and requirement to be accepted to community. From some aspects, Rhythm Workshop can also be defined as assimilation Project of ÇiğdeMİM, but it will be discussed further. Yet, all these performances not only increased the gap between people who live in Şirindere and who live in Çiğdem neighborhood but also, they increased the conflict between them.

4.6. The Role of Conflict on Çiğdem Community



Figure 4.4. During the uprising of Çiğdem Community against Local Governments Because of Şirindere, is taken from Facebook group of ÇiğdeMİM, URL 9: <https://www.facebook.com/cigdemimdernegi/posts/919645811383269/>

DeLanda (2011) states that when the conflict occurs neighborhood communities are territorialized. In other words, the border of neighborhood communities gets thicker. This thesis, therefore, claims that territorialization plays an important role on the creation of bonds, attachments, and rather strong sense of community so that the conflict can have an impact on community formation of Çiğdem Neighborhood.

Firstly, Çiğdem neighborhood used to be consists of only different gated communities, thus ÇiğdeMİM (displayed 5.1.) aimed to develop sense of community in the neighborhood in 2007. In 2020, during the deep interview, Interviewee 1 stated that

As ÇiğdeMİM, we have already achieved our aim to develop sense of community in the neighborhood. In the last 10 years, the number of members of ÇiğdeMİM is also increasing better. (Interviewee 1)

Because people unrestingly had faced with problems of Şirindere, they delivered their complaint to ÇiğdeMİM to overcome these problems. In other words, sharing common suffering of robbery or feeling insecure in the street kept people together. It also explains the reason of the increase of members of ÇiğdeMİM was parallel to the increase of the conflict. In this regard, Blokland (2013, pg.9:6) states Defining shared enemy also increases in-group cohesion. For example, in 2016, Çiğdem community organized a demonstration against authorities to solve the problems of Şirindere in prior to ÇiğdeMİM.

4.7. The Experiences of Rhythm Course as Cross-Class Practices

In 2017, the idea of Rhythm Course Project was shared with other members of ÇiğdeMİM in the plenary session of ÇiğdeMİM by Interviewee 2 who is an active member of ÇiğdeMİM. This idea had not been welcomed by other members of ÇiğdeMİM. In this regard, Interviewee 1 stated that,

The majority of members of ÇiğdeMİM did not support the project of Interviewer 2, but by taking an initiative, and we have realized this project. (Interviewee 1)

Similarly, Interviewee 3 also stated that,

Çiğdem Community including member of ÇiğdeMİM did not believe in us to enable to realize Rhythm Course since previous voluntary teachers before me did not resist to work with these children. However, we, with other volunteers, had succeed to maintain Rhythm course for 3 years. (Interviewee 3)

Interviewee 2 explained as follows:

I have a son who has an autism spectrum disorder, is 32 years old. Therefore, I am aware of the struggles of disadvantaged people. I thought that as my son, children living in Şirindere needed a special approached to bring them into the society. In this sense, the project of rhythm course has appeared. Accordingly, I presented this project to the members of ÇiğdeMİM. (Interviewee 2)

After the implementation of this project was decided to, a voluntary music teacher was required to be found. Thanks to the friend of Interviewee 2, Interviewee 3 (a music teacher) had been invited Rhythm Course to become a voluntary music teacher of this course. Meantime, according to statement of Interviewee 2, children living in Şirindere, and their families were also being informed about Rhythm Course through ÇiğdeMİM.

Throughout following three years, a voluntary music teacher had been teaching those kids how to play a ‘darbuka’ one day of each week during the school season, in the pre-fabric shed of ÇiğdeMİM. On each school season's national and important days, such as National Sovereignty and Children’s Day, International Women Day, etc., “the Rhythm Group” performed what they learned in the pre-fabric shed of ÇiğdeMİM or in Can Yücel Park. The participants of Rhythm Course were children living in Şirindere, volunteers, voluntary teacher, its originator. The detailed information about these participants was given in Table 4. 4.. Table 4.4. also aims to remark how number of volunteers has changed for three years, the increase of number of volunteers, the lack of continuity of children. In this regard, table was demonstrated as follows:

Table 4.4 Information about Participants of Rhythm Course				
Period		2017-2018 ⁸ The First Year	2018-2019 ⁹ The Second Year	2019-2020 ¹⁰ The Third Year
Volunteers (Except voluntary music teacher & its founder)	<i>How many volunteers participated?</i>	2 volunteers	3 volunteers (including me)	4+ volunteers
	<i>Jobs</i>	1 retired, 1 teacher	2 retired women, me	2 retired women, 2 or more students of METU
	<i>Did volunteers live in Çiğdem Neighborhood ?</i>	none of them	1 volunteer	Min. 2 volunteers

⁸ 2017 Fall- 2018 Spring academic year

⁹ 2018 Fall- 2019 Spring academic year

¹⁰ 2019 Fall – 2019 Spring academic year

Table 4.4. continued

	<i>Age Range</i>	between 10 years old and 14 years old.
Children living in Şirindere	<i>How many did Children of Şirindere participate?</i>	<p>5. According to the statements of (Interviewee 2,3,4), there was no certain number of participants because the number of participants was changing every week.</p> <p>6. It might be stated that the number of children guessingly was swaying in between 8-15, but the number of children was increasing in public performances of rhythm course because old students were also attending those performances.</p>

Firstly, as displayed in 4.4. number of volunteers had increased each year. Associated with the increase visibility of Rhythm Course through performances which were open to public, rhythm course especially could have taken more attention of Middle East Technical University (METU) students and Çiğdem Community. Interviewee (4) was also one of pillars of Rhythm Course together with voluntary music teacher & its founder since she was only volunteer who had participated for three years. The motivations of volunteers were changing by this means; to have a good impact on the life of those children, to support them their adaptation to the society, to construct a relation with those children, to ensure new, positive perspectives of Çiğdem Community towards those children, to learn how to play a darbuka etc.

Secondly, there was no continuousness in the attendance of those children. Indeed, there was recirculation each year. When children reached the age of 14 or 15, they were quitting to participate since either they were getting married or had to take more responsibilities of house works or had to earn money and were replaced with the children who passed to 4th Grade¹¹. Based on my observations and opinions of interviewees, it can be stated that there were different frequencies of participation of these children. Taking account of this statement, child participants can be divided into three categories such as continuous participants, on and off participants and visitor-participants.

¹¹ The school hours of 1st, 2nd and 3rd Grade was at the same time with Rhythm Course since children who were students of these grades were not be able to participate Rhythm Course.

- Continuous Participants: children who were dedicated to learn and perform to play darbuka and to be a "member" of Rhythm Course (to be on the stage in front of Çiğdem community and their families as a symbol of being successful, valuable), those were also students of (Ahmet Barındırır Primary School). However, it is important to underline those continuous participants sometimes were not able to attend some practices because they had to take care of their siblings.
- On and Off Participants: children who were willing to spend their leisure time with playing games and a darbuka with their friends, with us.
- Visitor-Participants: children who were visitors because of their curiosity, or to eat cake and drink juice given after each practice.

Moreover, the reasons of ever-changing frequency of their participation will also be discussed further in detail, but at that point, it is important to emphasize that the motivation of families of these children to allow them to participate rhythm course plays an important role in the frequency of their attendance to rhythm course. Motivations of families were such as

- to support their children to take an education, be successful
- to benefit from donations of ÇiğdeMİM by getting close to ÇiğdeMİM

In brief, not only general information about the process of formation of Rhythm Course, its participants, was given above but also the frequency of attendance of its participants and the reasons of differentiation of frequency of attendance of children has been examined in detail. This is because these information and examinations will help to understand the relational setting of cross-class rhythm group and the limitation of community formation of rhythm course.

Lastly, rhythm course is also named as cross-class rhythm group because it includes cross-class practices. I, as a researcher, have observed that those cross-class practices had some positive impacts on the relationship between Çiğdem Community and people living in Şirindere. Through the performances which cross-class rhythm group had performed in common and public places of Çiğdem Neighborhood, despite of their different mental proximities these different social entities had existed together. Those experiences have a vital importance on the perspective of Çiğdem Community since Çiğdem Community had experienced that they peacefully watched those performance by sitting down, along min. two hours, next to people living Şirindere who Çiğdem Community perceived them as a threat on

their physical security. This also reduces the experience of rhythm course into a significant matter which needs to be discussed within the scope of thesis.

In this regard, this content aims to explore the positive impacts of cross-class rhythm group on the conflict between Çiğdem Community and people living Şirindere, the attitude of ÇiğdeMIM towards them during the implementation process of this project and the limitation of community formation of cross-class rhythm group.

4.7.1. Relational Setting of Cross-Class Rhythm Group

First of all, according to Chapter 4.7., it cannot be claimed that cross-class rhythm course was durable engagements. The discontinuity of attendance of children is not the reason of this statement because cross-class rhythm group continued to maintain their practices though the ever-changing number of children. The main reason of this statement, indeed, is that cross-class Rhythm Group was meeting once a week during school season, that is, rhythm course was completely closed during summer season. In other words, all interactions performed in this course were cut off. Therefore, cross-class rhythm course can be described as fluid encounters.

Secondly, three different social ties of cross-class rhythm group for relational setting of belonging to the course can be observed, which are attachments & bonds & interdependencies. Table 4.4. displays that,

Table 4.4. Social Ties of Cross-Class Rhythm Group	
Bonds	<p><i>Among Volunteers</i>, there were bonds between Volunteers who do not live Çiğdem Neighborhood, Voluntary Music Teacher, Volunteer Founder and Member of ÇiğdeMIM. One volunteer was a sister of voluntary music teacher. Moreover, there was a strong-close friendship among and a voluntary teacher, her sister and one volunteer who participated in the first year <i>Among Children living in Şirindere</i>, there were bonds among children living in Şirindere because most of them were relatives. Close friendships among some children were observed. Especially girls at the same age were always coming, sitting, and leaving together, secretly sharing their opinions,</p>

Table 4.4 *continued*

	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- <u><i>Between Volunteers and Children living in Şirindere,</i></u> there were bonds between them or (us). Because bonds are produced by non-relational affective social actions, which means based on emotions. Volunteers were mostly treating towards children with tenderness and kindness, and with an empathy. Moreover, volunteer and most of children were sharing similar excitement to and happiness for open-performances. These played a role on the creation of bonds between some volunteers and children were appeared.
Attachments	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- <u><i>Among Volunteers,</i></u> there were attachments among most of them because all those volunteers were sharing similar desires to be part of rhythm group with respect to my experiences and statements of (Interviewee 2,3,4). Even though some actions of volunteers were rarely applying of discipline power on these children- , the main desire of most of them was to take care of those children and to show these children that they are valuable, they are loved etc. This desire created attachments among volunteers. Regarding my personal experience, I can state that I still feel close to other volunteers. Also, the relations set up during rhythm course continued to be perform in another formation or platform. For example, thanks to these relations, one of volunteer invited me to Anitpark Platform which is an independent formation of civil activism, established after the Uprisings of Gezi Park.- <u><i>Among Children living in Şirindere,</i></u> as a researcher, I cannot have any statement on whether or not there were attachments among those children- <u><i>Between Volunteers and Children living in Şirindere,</i></u> there were attachments between them or (us) since we all were always practicing for showing our performance to a variety of audiences. In other words, the same purpose and desire produced attachments between continuous child participants and volunteers.

Table 4.4 *continued*

Interdependencies	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- There were interdependencies <u>between Cross-Class Rhythm Group and Çiğdem Community</u> because the conflict between Çiğdem Community and Şirindere had negative impacts on the rhythm course.- <u>And, between Cross-Class Rhythm Group and families of Children</u>, as mentioned above, their families might affect the frequency of attendance of these children
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The relational setting of Cross-Class Rhythm Group demonstrates that even though social ties were produced between volunteers and children living in Şirindere, these social ties in the group were dispersed and fragmented, not involving all participants. Therefore, since these social ties were not enough to constitute Cross-Class Rhythm Community Formation, and these practices were not performed as durable engagements, conditions which serve community formation of cross class rhythm group could not be provided as well.

The upcoming part will focus on the role of Çiğdem Community on cross-class rhythm group and the other obstacles of community formation of cross-class rhythm group, but before that outputs of cross-class practices, and performances of cross-class rhythm group and positive impacts and disappointments of cross-class rhythm group will be introduced.

4.7.2. Introduction to Cross-Class Practices ad Performances of Cross-Class Rhythm Group

For three year long, cross-class Rhythm Group have performed in different events, but there are different performances of the rhythm group which both Çiğdem Community and people living in Şirindere participated. The experiences gained during these performances enlightens the relationship between these different social entities.

The first one was the performance of Cross-Class Rhythm Group organized in Ahmet Barındırır Primary School, that is, in the school of child participants of rhythm group, in the first year of Rhythm Course. According to statement of Interviewee 3, after one of teachers at this school had realized that her students were participants of Rhythm Group, she visited cross-

class rhythm group while the group was performing. Accordingly, she played an important role on the organization of this performance. All Interviewee 1,2,3 and 4, describes this performance as a rather notable experience for children living in Şirindere and volunteers because discriminated and labelled children were welcomed for the first time. To comprehend why this performance was unforgettable and impressive, the experiences of children living in Şirindere at school needs more emphasis. In this sense, Interviewee 1 stated that,

Children were being discriminated at the school as well. Their attendance to classes were not wanted by other children living in Çiğdem Neighborhood, families of other children. Thus, they were collected in one class regardless of their grade. (Interviewee 1)¹²

Interviewee 3 explained the importance of this performance with following words:

For the first time, children living in Şirindere were acclaimed by their teachers and other children. They were struggling on adapting themselves to the school (...) Their living conditions were extremely poor. They could not attend to the classes constantly, most of them had either to work or to help their mother in house works apart from school hours (...) Some of them did not know to even speak Turkish. Some of them were prone to violence (...) Unfortunately, they were harshly subject to discrimination, labelling in their school. We were hearing that the teachers of children living in Şirindere complained about their attitudes, behaviors, laziness. They were unwanted by other children and their teachers. They were described as lazy, dirty by other children living in Çiğdem Neighborhood. (...) However, teachers, other students, the head of school were surprised of our performance. After the performance, we witnessed that children living in Şirindere were caressed their heads by teachers, also they danced with other students (...) Thank to this performance, children living in Şirindere felt valuable (Interviewee 3)

The second rhythm performance is the one organized in Can Yücel Park. ÇiğdemMIM has been organizing Çiğdem Neighborhood Festival once a year, and also organizing events to celebrate World's Children Day in Can Yücel Park, which are open to public. All neighborhood is welcomed for these events. Çiğdem community also shows a high interest in these events. Cross-class Rhythm Group displayed their performance in the event in the first and second year of rhythm course. In the second year, I was one of performers of Rhythm Group, thus I had chance to observe the field.

¹² At this point, it is important to underline some of children living in Şirindere whose families had been living in Şirindere for more than 5 or 6 years and has a better economic status compared to other people living in Şirindere could follow regular classes, but still they were labelled since they were living in Şirindere.



Figure 4.5. this photograph was taken during performances of Rhythm Group on World's Children Day by ÇiğdemİM

The families of children living in Şirindere and Çiğdem Community had come to watch our performances in both events. During the events, the majority families had preferred to sit down on grass whereas Çiğdem Community had preferred to watch from the stairs designed for audiences. Few people living in Şirindere were sitting on those stairs. I think where they had chosen to stand also represents the gap between these social entities. But still, this performance brought these two different entities together. In this respect, it is important to remember that people living in Şirindere were threats for Çiğdem community because people living in Şirindere were labelled as criminals. However, although there was still a huge gap between mental proximities of these two social entities, I claim that these performances offered a new perspective about people living in Şirindere to some people in Çiğdem Community.

The third performance is the one for the celebration of World's Women Day. I participated in the second performance of Rhythm Group for the celebration. These performances for the celebration were held in shed-fabric of ÇiğdemİM. I noticed that the number of audiences was too low as compared to other performance organized in Can Yücel Park. The reason of why, the capacity of shed-fabric was not enough to host many audiences. A few female members of families of these children and female members of Çiğdem community had participated. Different from previous event, girls had read letters written by themselves to share their dreams and goals about their career and to send their thank to their female teachers. However, this event revealed the conflict between Çiğdem community and people living in Şirindere in

the first performance. In this regard, Interviewee 3 talked about negative criticism of one of members of Community on Facebook Group of ÇiğdeMIM after the first performance also held in shed-fabric of ÇiğdeMIM. Interviewee 3 stated that,

One person participated as an audience to this event wrote a comment under photographs of this event on Facebook, which says, “*Teach those children how they do not smell bad before teaching those children to play darbuka*” (...) It was so disappointing. (Interviewee 3)



Figure 4.6. this photograph was taken during performances of Rhythm Group on World's Women Day in 2019 by Interviewee 2

Because the shed-fabric is close and small, this audience was subjected to the smell of children. Due to the lack of water in their home, those children could not take a bath; thus, they smelled differently. I think this experience also shows how some people from Çiğdem community were mercilessly looking at people living in Şirindere. Yet, during my experience, we have just received lovely comments from audiences.

Moreover, I have observed that in this event children living in Şirindere were not as happy as in other performances. So, these experiences had triggered to ask the role of places on interactions between different social entities, but this question will not be discussed within the scope of this thesis.

4.7.3. The Relation Between ÇiğdeMIM and Cross-Class Rhythm Group

The Rhythm Course was led by a member of ÇiğdeMIM and within the technical support of ÇiğdeMIM. However, the process of creation of Rhythm Group, as mentioned beforehand, shows that rather than the dream or goal of ÇiğdeMIM as an organization, the establishment of rhythm group was realized thanks to the personal sensitivity of someone who is a member of ÇiğdeMIM. Thus, ÇiğdeMIM was an actor who helps the needs of Cross-Class Rhythm Group, but it did not represent Cross-Class Rhythm Group. On the contrary, ÇiğdeMIM represents Çiğdem Community since it is an organization which has a vital role on community formation of Çiğdem Community. Indeed, precisely because of the fact that ÇiğdeMIM is an actor on the behalf of Çiğdem Community in the conflict between Çiğdem Community and Şirindere. In this sense, Interviewee 4 interprets the relationship between ÇiğdeMIM that,

“I primarily think that ÇiğdeMIM was different from other neighborhood organizations. It is unused that ÇiğdeMIM as a neighborhood organization played such a role on organization of Rhythm Course in Turkey (...) ÇiğdeMIM supported Rhythm Group in so many ways. ÇiğdeMIM bought darbukas we played. Whenever we as volunteers have asked something for the need of Rhythm Group, ÇiğdeMIM took care of our demands immediately (...) However, the members of ÇiğdeMIM were not joining our practices since we know that people who living in Çiğdem Neighborhood could not look at people living in Şirindere with our eyes. Hence, the members of ÇiğdeMIM could not own Rhythm Course as we did (...) (Interviewee 4)

4.7.4. Achievements & Disappointments of Cross-Class Rhythm Group

There are achievements and threats of Cross-Class Rhythm Group and disappointments of volunteers according to statements of interviewees. One of disappointments of Cross-Class Rhythm Group is that Cross-Class Rhythm Group could not be maintained due to pandemic and demolition of *gecekondu*s in Şirindere. The second disappointment is that one of girls who was hard-working and dedicated in Cross-Class Rhythm Group eloped in summer season of 2019. This is one of biggest disappointments of volunteers. This is because a voluntary music teacher, Interviewee 2 and Interviewee 4 believed to offer a possibility of another way of life to this girl admired to get higher education. In other words, even though a young-aged 13-year-old girl was quite talented in playing darbuka, she also had good grades at school, she did not prefer to continue her education.

Achievements of Cross-Class Rhythm Group are the appearance of empathies and trustworthiness towards people living in Şirindere. Thanks to the practices of Cross-Class Rhythm Group and performances. Throughout these performances and practices, children and

their families labelled as criminals showed Çiğdem Community that all people living in Şirindere were not criminals. Moreover, Interviewee 3 stated that,

Çiğdem Community and members of ÇiğdeMIM shared their observations on changing behavior of children in Cross-Class Rhythm Group with us. (Interviewee 3

Similarly, Interviewee 2 stated that,

One of our children Rhythm Group has delivered the phone s/he found on the ground to ÇiğdeMIM. It was quite unexpected for other members of ÇiğdeMIM. (Interviewee 2)

As a volunteer, I believe that this is important since these observations might be questioned Çiğdem Community about labelling and stigmatization of people living in Şirindere.



Figure 4.7 children in rhythm group were invited to the birthday party of son of one of the members of ÇiğdeMIM at the end of the second year

There are also threats of Cross-Class Rhythm Group not for Çiğdem Community but people who living in Şirindere. Interviewee 3 shared her concerns about Rhythm Cross-Class Rhythm Group with these words as follows:

We do not know how the experiences of children in Cross-Class Rhythm Group has affected their life in Şirindere. After the course, when they went their home, they faced with their living conditions, we do not know how they felt or how these experiences affected or will affect these children psychologically. For example, I always suggested these children that you should not be wild, but I sometime have been asking myself what if being wild for those children was a way to survive in their living conditions(...)Interviewee 3 wants to put an emphasize on unforeseen consequences of Cross-Class Rhythm Group. (Interviewee 3)



Figure 4.8. women living in Şirindere were invited to picnic organization of ÇiğdemMIM on Worlds Women Day

In brief, these findings shows that Cross-Class Rhythm Group practices had a positive impact on relationship between Şirindere and Çiğdem Community in terms of the fact that practices of performances of Rhythm Group positively affected some of members of Çiğdem Community in terms of their attitudes towards people living in Şirindere. However, these positive impacts were not enough to construct Cross-Class Community, and trustworthiness and empathy. In this regard, there are limitations of cross-class community formation under neoliberal urban transformation. To overcome these limitations, the need of agency appears for community formation. In other words, different form traditional community formation, cross-class community formation under neoliberal urban transformation is possible within an agency.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This thesis' main question is based on how the formulations of "community" have been taking shape under neoliberal urban transformation. For eight months, I had observed the relationship between Şirindere and Çiğdem Community and witnessed both the conflict between Çiğdem Community and Şirindere and cross-class practices in Çiğdem Neighborhood through Cross-Class Rhythmic Course in Çiğdem Neighborhood where I, as a volunteer, had participated. My experiences in Cross-Class Rhythmic Group for 8 months, and in the meantime my observations in Çiğdem Neighborhood, i.e., in the field, blazed a way of this thesis. In other words, these observations and experiences directed the researcher to explore the main question of this thesis. In other words, the question was born from my observations and experiences in Çiğdem Neighborhood and Şirindere where two different social entities had been experiencing the juxtaposed lives despite of having the disproportional socioeconomic and cultural dynamics. The main research question asserted the process of community formation under neoliberal urban change causes augmenting problems resulted from implications of neoliberal urban transformation of Turkey, and at the same time, is seen as a solution of these problems.

The literature review consisted of the theories on "community", discussions on community formation in contemporary urban and sociological studies, discussions on social ontology in contemporary studies, discussions on common and communing, the theory of urban marginalization, the theories on urban poverty and studies on neoliberal urban change in Turkey. In relation to the literature review, this thesis is structured around four main subjects:

- The meaning of "community"
- Traditional Community Formation
- Community Formation under Neoliberal Urban Transformation
- A Close Look to the experience of Çiğdem Community and Şirindere

First and foremost, the definition of "community" has been discussed to explore the meaning of community. Depending on the lexical definitions and etymological background, the main

components of “community” has been addressed as “common thing” and “border”. That is, to be “community” needs “common thing” which people gathers and “boundary drawing”. In this sense, these two components were determined as the seed of all discussion on theories on “community” in this thesis.

“Community” is an imagined concept related to good feelings, sense of “home”. It also has allegorically relation with “paradise”. It is a notion called from the past. It is nostalgia and romanticized notion as Blokland (2017) mentions community and nostalgia goes hand in hand. To re-create “community” which is lost within the increase of individualism in liberalism, the new formulations of community based on studies of bygone communities was asserted by some scholars, which can be called as “Traditional Community Formation”. In traditional community formation, the features of community are defined such as small, homogeneous, distinctive. Hence, the communities which has these features were re-constructed in modern era to overcome the decline of sense of safety or defined as “community. However, those communities as a community based-solution to the problems of liberalism seen as a means for security caused negative consequences in society such as conflict, discrimination, assimilation etc. While re-generating “community” called as “ideal community”, it is seen that homogenous social group which is one of prerequisite of being a community was possible in the extinction of “otherness”. This also means that the other becomes a threat for “community” seen as means of security. Enclosed-gated communities are good examples of that. Enclosed-gated communities present people who live in sites surrounded by thick walls for middle or upper-middle class groups. The strangers are not allowed to expect in these communities and discriminate from them. This is a dark side of notion of “community”.

As to the theory of Zibechi, community is seen as a way of civil social movement depending on experiences in El Alto, Bolivia. In his theory, community is defined as a social machinery which provides people to get together. He mentions the uprisings of neighborhood communities against the government for common resources resulted for the good of these communities, he states the secret of their success is to be “community”. Those neighborhood communities consisted of people who migrated from rural to urban land, all together constructed their living places. The features of those communities are defined similar to bygone communities. They were small, homogeneous. In addition to these features, common suffering and deprivation are defined as a main component of “community”. Different from community as a means of security, community as a way of social movement represents good side of “community”. Yet still, the formulation of those neighborhood communities expresses traditional community formation.

However, theoretical way of thinking traditional community formation is not enough to understand community formation under neoliberal urban transformation. In the quite fast like greased lightning changing and globalized world, interactions among people, groups, and communities are raised in another rank so that relations among them are continually diversifying. Hence, formulations of formation of social entities needs new approaches. For this reason, the third chapter of this thesis examine community formation under neoliberal urban transformation within the scope of Assemblage Theory by Manuel DeLanda (2008) and the theory of Community as Urban Practices (2017).

Both these theories discuss “community” by accepting the fact that “community” is not a steady formation, instead it is a dynamic, continuously changing, and re-produced formation different from approaches on traditional community formation. Thus, both of them take account of observing on people networks and the relations among people, communities. Moreover, the thing DeLanda (2008) defines as variables of social entities applicable to “community” with territorialization and deterritorialization refers to” boundary drawing” in the theory of Blokland (2017). Similarly, decoding and coding (stated in 3.1.) can be explained like that while coding means producing shared symbolism and narrative (stated in 3.2.1., Blokland defines shared symbolism and narrative as a main component of community), decoding means disappearing shared symbolism and narratives. In brief, both theories support each other in terms of the main variables of “community”.

Blokland (2017) comprehensively develops the new way of theoretical understanding of “community” by combining different academic studies written by different scholars. She also gives answers of what the formulations of community formation under neoliberal urban change are. In this sense, as mentioned above, the main components of “community” are shared symbolism and narratives and boundary drawing. After that, Blokland deepens discovering how shared symbolism and narratives are performed and produced and what boundary drawing means., First of all, “common thing” is defined shared symbolism and narratives in this theory. We produce shared symbolism and narratives by interacting with each other, then by establishing relationship with each other. Thus, Blokland (2017) defines community as public practices which produces those relations and shared symbolism, narratives. Secondly, social identity is determined by boundary drawing. In this regard, boundary drawing also means exclusionary mechanism, that is, it is the process of determination of insiders and outsiders. It is necessary to point out that the action of boundary drawing is getting shaped by depending on interactions between outsiders and insiders. In

other words, depending on interactions, relations, boundary drawing is constantly active. For example, the higher the danger and the thicker the boundaries get. In parallel with, exclusionary mechanisms work within power mechanism such as security, disciplinary and sovereignty power, thus community within power cannot be ignored. Lastly, Blokland explains relational setting of belonging which is a base for community formation. Durable engagements, fluid encounters and social ties constitutes relational setting of belonging.

This thesis, by relying on discussions above, puts on the table why “advanced marginalized group” as a social entity under neoliberal urban transformation cannot be defined as “community”. The categorization of “advanced marginalized group” is an outcome of urban marginalization. First of all, the three main properties of urban marginalization such as territorial stigmatization, socio-symbolic fragmentation, and loss of hinterland explains how people who work informal and illegal works because of neoliberal economic policies are socially marginalized, discriminated and labelled and how the relations of these people with are affected. “Advanced marginalized group” as a social entity under neoliberal urban transformation cannot be defined as “community” because that advanced marginalized people are excluded, are not the decision-makers. That is, because community formations, as stated before, works with exclusionary mechanism, which means within power, advanced marginalized groups do not have power for community formation. Instead, advanced marginalized groups are subjected to discrimination, stigmatization etc., which is not the choice of people who are suffering these living conditions. Based on the findings in the field, people living in Şirindere can be described as advanced marginalized group. They have been facing all these problems above. Therefore, they cannot be “community”.

First of all, the analyses of historical process of urban transformation of Çiğdem Neighborhood and Şirindere demonstrates neoliberal urban formation of this field, and how it created fragmented, dispersed urban spaces. Then, the finding about community formation of Çiğdem Neighborhood and the limitations of cross-class community formation answers the main research question of this thesis

The main findings of the thesis display the formulations of “community” under neoliberal urban transformation have been shaped with reference to three main axes such as exclusionary mechanisms (boundary drawing), relational setting of belonging, within the agency.

According to findings of the field, community formation of Çiğdem Neighborhood proves how its exclusionary mechanisms works. it can be stated that the interactions between

Community Formation of Çiğdem Neighborhood and people living in Şirindere are observed as displayed in Table 1.2. , community formation was affecting people living in Şirindere in term of exclusionary mechanisms of community formation, an thus violent behavior of people living in Şirindere activities were increasing, and then the conflict between them were increasing, the increased conflict had an impact on community formation on Çiğdem Neighborhood in terms of its getting thicker boundaries and this circulation continues. Moreover, relational setting of Çiğdem Community consists of durable engagements, social ties such as attachments, bonds, and interactions through ÇiğdeMIM which is neighborhood organization of Çiğdem Neighborhood.

Furthermore, durable engagements are one of the requirements of community formation to have shared stories, symbolism etc. because it provides constant interactions. However, before that, “a common thing” for the reason which people gather common platform or place for durable engagements needs. In this sense, Çiğdem Neighborhood needed an agency for its community formation to gather and to create “commonness” for fragmental and disconnected social groups. According to the statement of Interviewee 1, there were two reasons for the establishment of agency: the first one is enabling to construct “common goal” as looking after the neighborhood, to become an actor taken seriously by city and municipality councils. Moreover, there might be the financial need or to create or have a common platform or place, to organize meetings, organizations etc. Hence, the cross-class community formation under neoliberal urban transformation needed funds transfer to maintain this togetherness independently because depending on ÇiğdeMIM was an obstacle to blur boundaries between volunteers and children living in Şirindere. In fact, those children mostly did not perceive volunteers as separated from ÇiğdeMIM. although this also had a good impact on children’s attitudes towards ÇiğdeMIM and Çiğdem Community. ÇiğdeMIM was also representing Çiğdem Community. However, there are limitations of community formation of cross-class rhythm group. Even though attachment and bonds are observed in group. There was a discontinuity of attendance of children. There are three types of child participant such as continuous, off and off and visitor participants. As community formation of Çiğdem Neighborhood shows there is a need of agency for community formation of cross-class rhythm group.

To conclude, the reason why I have conducted this research is to find the equivalent of an experience that has deeply affected me in the academic field. The inequalities in the world are very painfully manifested in our cities. Many lives that we are used to seeing on the streets,

but we do not look at are suffering because of the unbalanced and injustice living conditions created by the system. Within the scope of this study, the question of how to create another experience despite the system, or whether it is possible to create it, has been tried to be sought in the practices of a neighborhood organization, considering non-governmental organizations and non-governmental theorists who have recently given great importance to local organizations. However, in the case of Çiğdem Neighborhood, ÇiğdeMİM as a neighborhood organization, which was one side of the conflict, could not go further than the image of a good, helpful, egalitarian institution that it puts on itself. Cross class rhythm group that tried to bring together more independent, inter-class practices, funded by ÇiğdeMİM, has been limited because of their dependence on ÇiğdeMİM. Last but not the least, whether the lack of common space could have effect on the inability of cross-class rhythm group to transform into a community and not being organized serves further studies as an important question in terms of guiding further research.

“Lois Chevalier pointed out that the crimes of the dangerous classes are mostly a simple survival strategy, and they commit these crimes in order to find shelter in cities where it is not easy to be poor.”

(Andy Merrifield 2019, June 26 ,URL 10: <https://andymerrifield.org/2019/06/26/marxs-dangerous-classes/>)



Figure 4.9. Şirindere 2019 from my personal a

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APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Dört yıl önce, sosyal-ekonomik, kültürel statüleri açısından aralarında çok ciddi uçurum bulunan iki farklı toplumsal varlığın yan yana yaşama deneyimiyle karşılaştım. Bu varlıkların yaşam koşulları arasındaki bu uçurum, cehennem ile cennet arasındaki uçurum ile paralellik gösteriyordu. 2017-2020 yılları arasında 100.Yıl mahallesinde otururken mahalle sokaklarında, süpermarketlerin önlerinde ve mahallenin çöp konteynerlerinin yakınında kâğıt toplayıcıları fark etmeye başladım. Bu kâğıt toplayıcılar çoğunlukla çocuklardı. Yaşı ne olursa olsun, aralarından en güçlüleri kâğıt toplama arabası taşıırken, diğerleri (çoğunlukla erkek çocuklar) ona kâğıt toplaması için destek oluyordu. Bazen çocukları etrafta dolaşırken anne ve babalarının kâğıt topladıklarına şahit oldum. Kâğıt toplamanın yanı sıra, çoğunlukla çocuklar dilencilik yapıyor ya da sokaktakilerden kendileri için alışveriş yapmasını rica ediyorlardı. Bu, Türkiye'deki kentsel marjinalleşmenin acımasız bir fotoğrafıydı.

Bir süre sonra bu çocukların ve ailelerinin 100.Yıl Mahallesi'nin bitişiğindeki Çiğdem Mahallesi'nde Şirindere olarak adlandırılan vadide metruk evlerde oturduklarını öğrenmiştim. Bu, orta sınıflar ve üst orta sınıflar için inşa edilen siteler ile ve gecekonduların yan yana yer aldığı anlamına geliyordu; başka bir deyişle, ileri marjinal gruplar ve orta sınıf gruplar yan yana yaşıyordu. Çiğdem Mahallesi mahalle derneği kuruluşu olan ÇiğdeMİM 2017-2020 döneminde Şirindere 'de yaşayan çocuklara yönelik Ritim Kursu düzenledi. Ben de 2018 – 2019 yılları arasında bu kursa gönüllü olarak katıldım. Bu kursa katılmaktaki kişisel amacım o çocukları, onların yaşam koşullarını anlamak ve onlarla koşulsuz, eşit bir ilişki içinde olmaktı. 8 ay boyunca bu alandaki kişisel deneyimlerim sırasında, Şirindere 'de yaşayanların zorlu yaşam koşullarından dolayı ne kadar acı çektiklerine, toplumdan nasıl ayrımcılığa uğradıklarına açıkça şahit oldum. Şirindere-Çiğdem Mahallesi arasındaki çatışmaya şahit oldum. Şirindere 'de yaşayanların Çiğdem Halkı tarafından istenmediklerini bildiklerine, çocukların da bu gerçeği bildiğine, Çiğdem Mahallesi'nde yaşayanların Şirindere 'deki suç faaliyetleri nedeniyle Şirindere 'den Şirindere 'de yaşayan insanlardan korktuklarına şahit oldum.

Bu birliktelik, Türkiye'deki neoliberal kentsel dönüşümün bir sonucuydu. Bu birlikteliğin sonuçlarını Şirindere' de yaşayan insanları ve Çiğdem halkını farklı şekillerde deneyimliyordu. Bu yanyanalık, bir yandan bu toplumsal varlıklar

arasındaki çatışmaya neden olur ve bu çatışmayı arttırırken; bir yandan da farklılıkları kabul etme pratiği olarak sınıflar arası pratikler üretiyordu. Burada ilginç olan ise Şirindere-Çiğdem halkının birbirleriyle olan ilişkilerinde topluluk kavramının birbiriyle çelişen yönleri iç içe geçerek deneyimleniyordu.

Bu bağlamda, bu tezin ana sorusu, neoliberal kentsel dönüşüm altında “topluluk” formülasyonlarının nasıl şekillendiğine dayanmaktadır. Sekiz ay boyunca Şirindere ve Çiğdem Topluluğu arasındaki ilişkiyi ve Çiğdem Mahallesi ile Şirindere arasındaki çatışmaya gözlemlerim, aynı zamanda Çiğdem Mahallesi'ndeki sınıflar arası uygulama olan ÇiğdeMİM tarafından düzenlenen Sınıflar Arası Ritim Kursuna gönüllü olarak katılımım bu 8 ay boyunca edindiğim deneyimler ve araştırmacı gözüyle Çiğdem Mahallesi'nde yani sahada yaptığı gözlemler bu teze ışık tuttu. Bu gözlemler ve deneyimler, beni bu tezin ana sorusunu keşfetmeye yöneltti. Başka bir deyişle, tezin ana sorusu, sosyoekonomik ve kültürel dinamiklerin orantısız olmasına rağmen iki farklı toplumsal varlığın yan yana yaşamlar deneyimlediği Çiğdem Mahallesi ve Şirindere' de araştırmacının gözlem ve deneyimlerinden doğmuştur. Kısaca, neoliberal kentsel değişim altında topluluk oluşturma sürecinin, Türkiye'nin neoliberal kentsel dönüşümünün sonuçlarından kaynaklanan sorunları arttırmaya neden olduğu ve aynı zamanda bu sorunların bir çözümü olarak görüldüğü ana araştırma sorusudur.

Literatür taramaları, “topluluk” teorileri, çağdaş kentsel ve sosyolojik çalışmalarda topluluk oluşumu tartışmaları, çağdaş sosyal ontoloji tartışmaları, “ortak” kavramının anlamı, ortak pratikler tartışmaları, kentsel marjinalleşme teorisi, kentsel yoksulluk teorileri ve çalışmaları içermektedir. Literatüre taramalarından sonra, tez dört ana konu etrafında yapılandırılmıştır: Türkiye'de neoliberal kentsel değişim, "Topluluk"un anlamı, Geleneksel Topluluk Oluşumu, Neoliberal Kentsel Dönüşüm Kapsamında Topluluk Oluşumu, Çiğdem Topluluğu ve Şirindere Deneyimine Yakından Bakış.

İlk olarak, topluluğun anlamını araştırmak için “topluluk” tanımını üzerine odaklanması gerekmiştir. Sözcük tanımlarına ve etimolojik arka plana bağlı olarak “topluluk” un ana bileşenleri “ortak şey” ve “sınır” olarak ele alınmıştır. Yani “topluluk” olmak, insanların bir araya getirdiği “ortak şeye” ve “sınırları çizmeye” ihtiyaç duyar. Bu anlamda bu iki bileşen, bu tezde “topluluk” teorileri üzerine yapılan tüm tartışmaların tohumu olarak belirlenmiştir.

“Topluluk”, iyi duygular, “ev” duygusu ile ilgili hayali bir kavramdır. “Cennet” ile de alegorik bir ilişkisi vardır. Geçmişten gelen bir kavramdır. Blokland' in (2017) topluluktan bahsettiği ve nostaljinin el ele gittiği için nostaljik ve romantikleştirilmiş bir kavramdır. Roberto Exposito (2009) ise, “topluluk”un anlamını, siyaset felsefesinin “topluluk” için genel kullanımından oldukça farklı bir şekilde yorumlar. Exposito, siyaset felsefesinin “topluluk”a daha geniş bir öznel perspektiften bir nesne olarak yaklaşması nedeniyle siyaset felsefesinin “topluluk”a yaklaşma biçimini

eleştirir. Bu bağlamda Exposito, siyaset felsefesi tarafından geliştirilen “topluluk”un önemine ilişkin kavramların görmezden gelindiği varsayımının altını çizerek. Bununla ilgili olarak, “topluluk” un önemini açıklar. *Communitas*, mal paylaşımı yerine borç, rehin veya verilecek bir hediye nedeniyle insanların bir araya gelmesi anlamına Latince terimin köküne göre, topluluk kavramının birliği tek taraflı göreve dayanır; yani sana bir hediye vermeliyim ama senden bir hediye almamalıyım. Örneğin gönüllü çalışmalar, organizasyonlar, eğlenceler sürekli yapılıyorsa bu çalışmalar Exposito ‘ya göre “topluluk” kavramına hizmet eder. Çünkü gönüllülerin toplanma şekli, yukarıda bahsedildiği gibi topluluk birliğinin tarzına benzemektedir. Farklı organizasyonlarda, çalışmalarda gönüllü olmayı deneyimledim. Diğer gönüllüler gibi benim de gönüllü olarak kişisel niyetim, çabamı karşılık beklemeden başkalarına vermek ve aynı zaman bu benim sorumluluğum yani görevimdi. Blokland'ın (2009, s. 8) “topluluk”un “ortak şeye” sahip olmakla karakterize edildiğini belirttiğini belirtmek isterim, ancak bu etimolojik araştırma “ortak şeyin” aslında açıkça hiçbir şey olmadığını ortaya koymaktadır. Yine de gönüllüler olarak “ortak noktamız” olmadığı gibi çabalarımızı, yeteneklerimizi ya da yeteneklerimizi de ortaya koyuyoruz. Bu bağlamda gönüllü olarak bir hizmet doğrultusunda bir araya gelen topluluklar Exposito ‘nun topluluk kavramına hizmet ediyor olabilir.

İkinci olarak, Bauman da “Community: Seeking Safety in Insecure World” (2000) adlı kitabında, “topluluğun” temelinde “ortak anlayışın” yattığını iddia ediyor. Başka bir deyişle, “ortak anlayış” geçmiş toplulukların yapı taşı olarak yorumluyor. Bu nedenle, gelecek bölüm, ortak anlayışın ve geçmiş toplulukların temel özelliklerinin analizine dayanmaktadır. Daha sonra da ideal bir topluluk olarak güvenliği sağlamak için bir araca dönüşümünün sonuçları tartışılacaktır.

Geçmiş dönemdeki topluluklar üzerine araştırmalar topluluk üyeleri arasındaki iletişim, aralarında “ortak anlayış” olduğunu gösteriyor. Bu anlamda, Ferdinand Tönnies ‘in argümanlarına göre, Baumann (2000, s.25&26), “içerdekiler tarafından paylaşılan “ortak anlayışın her zaman geçmiş topluluğa” içkin olduğunu, yani ortak anlayışın ayakta durmasını, doğal olarak ortaya çıkmasını geçmiş dönemdeki topluluk kavramını tanımlayan özellikler sayesinde mümkün olduğunun altını çizerek. Yani insanlar arasındaki ortak anlayış, Göran Rosenberg'in (2000 yılında La Nouvelle Lettre Internationale'deki bir denemede) “topluluk” olarak adlandırdığı “cemaat” veya “sıcak çevre” nin ortaya çıkmasında önemli bir rol oynamaktadır. Bu noktada ortak anlayışın ne anlama geldiğini tartışmak elzemdir.

Bauman'a göre (2000, Tönnies'in ifadelerine dayanarak (s. 26, Bauman 2000'de alıntılanmıştır), ortak anlayış, “çevredeki herhangi bir toplumun soğuk hesaplamasını ve rota-öğrenmesini, donuk ve soğukkanlılığını içermeyen bir iletişim biçimidir. Bu ortak anlayış, mizahsız, hiçbir koşulda 'mantıklı' olarak sunulmaz. Yani bu sıcak çevredeki insanlar birbirleriyle iletişim kurarken doğal olarak ortak anlayış doğar. Bu insanlar da birbirlerini koşulsuz olarak kabul ederler. Bauman (2000 s.26) “sıcak

çevre' içinde hiçbir şey kanıtlamak zorunda kalınmaz, topluluk üyeleri ne yaparsa yapsın, toplulukta sempati ve anlayış ile karşılanırlar. Ayrıca ortak anlayış, “birbirlerini kelimeler olmadan anlamak, yani ifade edilemez, bitmez tükenmez, anlaşılmasız olanın karşılıklı anlayışı” anlamına gelir. Yani, bu iletişim sözsüz bir iletişimdir.

Kısaca Bauman (2000), geçmiş topluluklarla ilgili güvende hissetmek, sıcak bir çevrede olmak vb. tüm güzel duyguların, toplumsal masumiyete, bozulmamış aynılığa ve hiçbir terlemenin asla ulaşamayacağı dinginliğe sahip olmasından kaynaklandığını açıklar. Bauman, bir anlamda, yeniden dirilirken, yeni doğmuş “topluluk “ta ortak anlayışın yeniden icat edilemeyeceğini belirtir. Yeniden ortak bir anlayış bulma umuduyla, toplumda bir güvenlik sağlamak için geçmiş toplulukların özelliklerine dayanan hayali bir kavram olarak “ideal topluluk” oluşturulur. Oysa Baumann (2000), Sisyphus' un hikayesine “ideal topluluklar” kurarak modern şehirlerde güvenliği sağlama sürecini andırır. Başka bir deyişle, imkânsız olsa da geçmiş toplulukların sahip olduğu güvenliği yaratmak için sonsuz bir çaba var. Ne yazık ki, gerçekte bu kavram, dolayısıyla kendini başka bir forma dönüştürür. Buna uygun olarak bir sonraki bileşen, ideal topluluk kavramına ve sonuçlarına odaklanmaktadır.

Liberalizmde bireyciliğin artmasıyla kaybolan “topluluğu” yeniden yaratmak için, “Geleneksel Topluluk Oluşumu” olarak adlandırılabilir, geçmiş toplulukların çalışmalarına dayalı yeni topluluk formülasyonları bazı bilim adamları tarafından ileri sürülmüştür. Geleneksel topluluk oluşumunda topluluğun özellikleri küçük, homojen, ayırt edici gibi tanımlanmaktadır. Dolayısıyla bu özelliklere sahip topluluklar, modernizm döneminde güvenlik duygusunun azalmasını aşmak için yeniden yapılandırılmış ve “topluluk” olarak inşa edilmiştir. Ancak bu topluluklar, güvenlik aracı olarak görülen liberalizmin sorunlarına topluluk temelli bir çözüm olarak toplumda çatışma, ayrımcılık, asimilasyon vb. olumsuz sonuçlar doğurmuştur. Topluluk olmanın ön koşullarından biri olan homojenlik, ancak “ötekilik” in ortadan kalkmasıyla mümkündür çünkü güvenlik aracı olarak görülen “topluluk” için “öteki” bir tehdit haline gelir. İçine kapalı topluluklar bunun iyi örnekleridir. İçine kapalı topluluklar, orta veya üst-orta sınıf grupları için kalın duvarlarla çevrili sitelerde yaşayan insanları tanımlayan bir ifadedir. Yabancı yani ötekilerin bu topluluklara girilmesine izin verilmez, hatta öteki olarak görülenler bu topluluklar tarafından dışlanır. Bu, “topluluk” kavramının karanlık bir yüzüdür.

Üçüncü olarak, Zibechi teorisinde, Bolivya'nın El Alto kentindeki deneyimlere dayanarak topluluk bir sivil sosyal hareket aracı olarak görülüyor. Onun teorisinde topluluk, insanların bir araya gelmesini sağlayan bir sosyal makine olarak tanımlanır. Mahalle topluluklarının ortak kaynaklar için hükümete karşı ayaklanmalarının bu toplulukların yararına olduğundan bahseder, başarılarının sırrının “topluluk” olmak olduğunu belirtir. Bu mahalle toplulukları, kırdan kente göç eden, hep birlikte yaşam alanlarını inşa eden insanlardan oluştuğunu belirtir. Bu toplulukların özellikleri,

geçmiş topluluklara benzer şekilde tanımlanır. Küçük ve homojendirler. Bu özelliklere ek olarak, ortak acı ve yoksunluk, “topluluğun” ana “ortak” bileşeni olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Bir güvenlik aracı olarak topluluktan farklı olarak, bir sivil toplum hareketi aracı olan topluluk, “topluluğun” iyi yanını temsil eder. Yine de bu mahalle topluluklarının formülasyonu, geleneksel topluluk oluşumunu ifade eder.

Ancak, neoliberal kentsel dönüşüm altında topluluk oluşumunu anlamak için teorik olarak sadece geleneksel topluluk oluşumunu tartışmak yeterli değildir. Hızla değişen ve küreselleşen dünyada, insanlar, gruplar ve topluluklar arasındaki etkileşimler başka bir seviye yükselmekte ve aralarındaki ilişkiler sürekli çeşitlenmektedir. Bu nedenle, sosyal varlıkların oluşum formülasyonları yeni yaklaşımlara ihtiyaç duyar. Bu nedenle, bu tezin üçüncü bölümü, Neoliberal kentsel dönüşüm kapsamında topluluk oluşumunu Manuel DeLanda'nın (2008) *Assemblage Teori ve Blokland*'in *Kentsel Pratikler Olarak Topluluk* (2017) teorisi kapsamında incelemektedir.

Her iki teori de “topluluğu” durağan bir oluşum değil, geleneksel topluluk oluşturma yaklaşımlarından farklı olarak dinamik, sürekli değişen ve yeniden üretilen bir oluşum olduğu gerçeğini kabul ederek tartışmaktadır. Böylece her ikisi de insan ağlarını ve insanlar, topluluklar arasındaki ilişkileri gözlemlemeye dikkat çeker. Ayrıca DeLanda'nın (2008) yerelleşme ve yersizyurtsuzlaşma ile “topluluk” a uygulanabilen sosyal varlıkların değişkenleri olarak tanımladığı şey, Blokland (2017) teorisinde tanımlanan “sınır çizimi” ile mümkündür. Benzer şekilde, kod çözme ve kodlama (3.1.'de belirtilmiştir) şu şekilde açıklanabilir: Kodlama, paylaşılan sembolizm ve anlatı üretme anlamına gelirken (3.2.1.'de belirtilen Blokland, paylaşılan sembolizmi ve anlatıyı topluluğun ana bileşeni olarak tanımlar), kod çözme, paylaşılan sembolizmi ve anlatıyı ortadan kaldırmak anlamına gelir. Özetle her iki teori de “topluluk” ana değişkenleri açısından birbirini desteklemektedir.

Blokland (2017), farklı akademisyenler tarafından yazılmış farklı akademik çalışmaları birleştirerek “topluluk” un yeni teorik anlayışını kapsamlı bir şekilde geliştirir. Neoliberal kentsel değişim altında topluluk oluşumunun formüllerinin neler olduğuna da cevaplar veriyor. Bu anlamda, yukarıda bahsedildiği gibi, “topluluğun” ana bileşenleri, paylaşılan sembolizm ve anlatılar ve sınır çizme olarak tanımlar. Bundan sonra Blokland, paylaşılan sembolizm ve anlatıların nasıl gerçekleştirildiğini ve üretildiğini ve sınır çizmenin ne anlama geldiğini keşfetmeyi derinleştirir. Her şeyden önce, bu teoride “ortak şey”, paylaşılan sembolizm ve anlatılar olarak tanımlanır. Önce birbirimizle etkileşerek, sonra da birbirimizle ilişki kurarak ortak sembolizm ve anlatılar üretiyoruz. Böylece Blokland (2017) topluluğu, bu ilişkileri ve paylaşılan sembolizmi, anlatıları üreten kamusal pratikler olarak tanımlar. İkinci olarak, Blokland'in vurguladığı nokta sosyal kimlik sınır çizme ile belirlendiği bu nedenle de topluluk kavramına ihtiyaç duyulduğunu belirtir. Bu bağlamda sınır çizme, aynı zamanda dışlayıcı mekanizma anlamına da gelir, yani içeridekilerin ve

dışarıdakilerin belirlenmesi sürecidir. Fakat, sınır çizme eyleminin, dışarıdakiler ve içeridekiler arasındaki etkileşimlere bağlı olarak şekillendiğini belirtmek gerekir.

Başka bir deyişle, etkileşimlere, ilişkilere bağlı olarak, sürekli olarak sınır çizimi aktiftir. Örneğin, tehlike arttıkça topluluğun sınırlarının metaforik ve gerçek anlamda kalınlaşması gibi. Buna paralel olarak güvenlik, disiplin ve egemenlik gücü gibi iktidar mekanizmaları dışlayıcı mekanizmaları yönetir, bu nedenle de iktidar içindeki topluluk ve topluluk içindeki iktidar göz ardı edilmemelidir. Son olarak Blokland, topluluk oluşumunun temeli olan topluluğun ilişki kurduğu odaklanır. Kalıcı etkileşimler, akıcı karşılaşmalar ve sosyal bağlar, topluluk için gerekli olan aidiyetin ilişki ortamını oluşturur. Topluluğun ilişki kurduğu, topluluk üyelerinin birbirleriyle nasıl ilişki kurduğu, topluluk üyeleri arasında ne tür ilişkiler kurulduğu, topluluğa aidiyet duygusunun nasıl kurulduğu, ne tür ilişkilerin “topluluğu” ürettiği gibi sorulara cevap verir. Özetle, sürdürülebilir etkileşimler, akıcı karşılaşmalar ve sosyal bağlar, topluluk için ilişki ortamı sağlar.

Blokland’ a göre, kültür olarak topluluk, uygulamalar aracılığıyla paylaşılan bir konumlandırma, paylaşılan bir aidiyet anlatısı ve paylaşılan bir deneyimler dizisi ve paylaşılan sembolizm yaratan uygulamalar anlamına gelir. Paylaşılan ve tanınan sembolizm, garip bir yerde tekil sanal veya fiziksel deneyimlerle oluşturulamaz. Paylaşılan ve tanınan sembolizmin inşası, ancak tekrarlanan etkileşimler, başkalarıyla karşılaşmanın çoklu bağlamları ve sınırları çizen farklılık deneyimiyle birlikte kapsayıcı bir aynılık deneyimi varsa mümkündür (Blokland 2013, s.10:16). Sürdürülebilir buluşmalar, bu bağlamda, yukarıdaki tüm gereklilikleri içerir. Akışkan karşılaşmaları, günlük hayatın akışı içinde sürekli gerçekleşen karşılaşmalardır. Blokland (2017), topluluğu kuramlaştırırken bu tür karşılaşmalara daha fazla dikkat edilmesi gerektiğini düşünmektedir. Blokland’ın göre bu karşılaşmalar, planlanmamış ve gerçekleşen tüm etkileşimleri içerir. Akışkan karşılaşmalar, iki kişinin yeniden bir araya gelme veya başka bir deyişle herhangi bir temel amacı olmaması ve iki kişinin karşılaşp karşılaşmaması rutinlerini etkilememesi gibi uzun süreli çatışmalardan farklıdır. Yani akışkan karşılaşmaları, insanların rutinleri üzerinde herhangi bir etkisi olmayan sıvı etkileşimleri anlamına da gelir. Ancak yine de bu karşılaşmalar, ötekine yönelimi içermesi nedeniyle toplumsal bağlar olarak görülebilir (Blokland 2013, s.10:16).

Aidiyet duygusu, önemli aşamaları sağlayan kentsel mekanlarda gerçekleştirilen bir duygu yerine, başkalarının önünde yapılan uygulamaların veya performansların ya da sosyal pratiğin sonucu olarak tanımlanmaktadır (Blokland 2017:7/16, Helbrecht ve Dirkmeier 2013: 286). Başka bir deyişle, topluluk duygusu, topluluğun sonucu olarak da tanımlanabilir. "Topluluk" her zaman bir aidiyet duygusu üretir veya uygular, ancak aidiyet duygusu içeren tüm gruplar "topluluk" anlamına gelmez. Hangi tür bağların toplumu üretip üretmediğini araştırmak için, ilişki ortamı olarak sosyal bağlar daha fazla incelenecektir. Blokland (2013) tarafından kategorize edilen dört

farklı sosyal bağ türü vardır. Bunlar güçlü bağlar, bağlar, alışverişler, karşılıklı bağlılıklardır.

Bu tez aynı zamanda, yukarıdaki tartışmaların ışığında, neoliberal kentsel değişim bir sonucu toplumsal bir varlık olarak ileri marjinallerin neden “topluluk” olarak tanımlanamayacağını ortaya koymaktadır. “İleri marjinalleştirilmiş grup” kategorisi, kentsel marjinalleşmenin bir sonucudur. Öncelikle, kentsel marjinalleşmenin bölgesel damgalama, sosyal-sembolik parçalanma ve hinterlandın kaybı gibi üç temel özelliği, neoliberal ekonomi politikaları nedeniyle kayıt dışı ve yasadışı çalışan insanların nasıl sosyal olarak marjinalleştirildiğini, ayrımcılığa uğradığını ve etiketlendiğini ve ilişkilerin nasıl dışlandığını açıklamaktadır. Neoliberal kentsel dönüşüm kapsamında bir sosyal varlık olarak “ileri marjinalleştirilmiş grup”, “topluluk olarak tanımlanamaz, çünkü ileri marjinalleşmiş insanlar dışlanır, karar verici değildir. Bu, ileri marjinal grupların topluluk oluşumu için ta da topluluk oluşumu ile ortaya çıkan iktidara sahip olmadığı görülür. Bunun yerine ileri düzeyde marjinal gruplar, bu yaşam koşullarından mustarip insanların tercihi olmayan ayrımcılığa, damgalanmaya vb. maruz kalır. Alandaki bulgulara göre Şirindere ‘de yaşayanlar ileri düzeyde marjinal grup olarak nitelendirilebilir. Yukarıdaki tüm bu sorunlarla karşı karşıya kaldıkları saha çalışmaları ile görülmüştür. Bu nedenle, kopukluklar, dışlanmalar, etiketlenmeler ile ortaya çıkan ileri marjinal kategorizasyonu tanımlanan bu sosyal varlık topluluk olarak tanımlanamaz.

Öncelikle Çiğdem Mahallesi ve Şirindere' nin kentsel dönüşüm sürecinin tarihsel süreci analizleri, bu alanın neoliberal kentsel oluşumunu ve bunun nasıl parçalı, dağınık kentsel mekanlar yarattığını ortaya koymaktadır. Ardından, Çiğdem Mahallesi'nin topluluk oluşumuna ve sınıflar arası grup oluşumunun sınırlamalarına ilişkin bulgu, bu tezin ana araştırma sorusunu yanıtlamaktadır. Tezin ana bulguları, neoliberal kentsel dönüşüm altında “topluluk” formülasyonlarının, kuruluşla ile birlikte, dışlayıcı mekanizmalar (sınır çizimi) ile, ilişkisel aidiyet düzeni olmak üzere üç ana ekseninde şekillendiğini göstermektedir.

Alanın bulgularına göre Çiğdem Mahallesi'nin topluluk oluşumu, onun dışlayıcı mekanizmalarının nasıl çalıştığını kanıtlıyor. Çiğdem Mahallesi Topluluk Oluşumu ile Şirindere ‘de yaşayan insanlar arasındaki etkileşimlerin Tablo1.2 'de görülmektedir. Bu tabloya göre, topluluk oluşumunun Şirindere ‘de yaşayan insanları topluluk oluşumunun dışlayıcı mekanizmaları açısından etkilediği, dolayısıyla yaşayan insanların şiddet içeren davranışlar gösterdiği söylenebilir. Bu nedenle dek, bu da çatışmayı artırıyor ve Çiğdem Mahallesi'ndeki topluluk oluşumunda etkili oluyordu. Bu devinim sürekli devam ediyor.

Çiğdem Mahallesinin neoliberal topluluk oluşumunu anlamak için yapılan Assemblage analizine göre çatışmanın arttığı bir ortamda ÇiğdeMİM topluluk oluşturma pratiğini deneyimleyen Çiğdem Topluluğu, topluluğun ana

mekanizmalarından biri itibar mekanizmasıdır. Topluluk üyelerinin birbirlerine ve dışarıyla dair olan ilişkilerinin gözlemlenmesi ve bu gözlemlerin dedikodu yoluyla birbirine aktarılma mekanizmasıdır. Sahada yapılan gözlemlere göre, ÇiğdeMİM üyeleri aracılığı ile bilgi mahalle genelinde yayılıyor. Bu nedenle ÇiğdeMİM üyeleri aracılığı ile Şirindere' nin sıkıntıları ve problemleri mahalle genelinde yayılıyor. Şirindere' deki insanlar ile herhangi bir sorun yaşamasına rağmen Çiğdem halkı duyduklarından da etkilenerak Şirindere' ye dair olumsuz fikirler geliştirip, onlara karşı olumsuz tutum almaktadırlar.

Çiğdem Topluluğu'nun ilişkisel ortamı, Çiğdem Mahallesi'nin mahalle örgütlenmesi olan ÇiğdeMİM aracılığıyla kalıcı bağlılıklar, bağlılıklar, bağlar gibi sosyal bağlar ve etkileşimlerden oluşur. Ayrıca, sürdürülebilir toplanmalar, sürekli etkileşimler sağladığı için, paylaşılan hikayelere, sembolizme vb. sahip olmak için topluluk oluşumunun gereksinimlerinden biridir. Ancak bundan önce, insanların ortak bir platform veya sürdürülebilir toplanmalar için “ortak bir şey” gerekir. Bu anlamda Çiğdem Mahallesi kendi topluluk oluşumunun bir araya gelmesi ve parçalı ve kopuk sosyal gruplar için “ortaklık” yaratması için bir kuruluşa ihtiyaç duyuyordu. Görüşmeci l'in ifadesine göre ajansın kurulmasının iki nedeni vardı: Birincisi mahalleye sahip çıkmak, kent ve belediye meclisleri için ciddiye alınan bir aktör olmak gibi “ortak amaç” inşa etmek. Ayrıca, ortak bir platform veya mekân oluşturmak veya sahip olmak, toplantı, organizasyon vb. düzenlemek için finansal ihtiyaç olabilir veya olabilir. Dolayısıyla neoliberal kentsel dönüşüm kapsamında sınıflar arası topluluk oluşumu bu birlikteliği bağımsız olarak sürdürmek için fon transferine ihtiyaç duyuyordu çünkü ÇiğdeMİM' e bağlıydı. Şirindere 'de yaşayan gönüllüler ve çocuklar arasındaki sınırların bulanıklaşmasına engel oldu. Aslında bu çocuklar gönüllüleri çoğunlukla ÇiğdeMİM 'den ayrı olarak algılamadılar. Bu da çocukların ÇiğdeMİM ve Çiğdem Topluluğu'na karşı tutumları üzerinde iyi bir etkiye sahip olsa da. ÇiğdeMİM aynı zamanda Çiğdem Topluluğu'nu da temsil ediyordu. Bununla birlikte, sınıflar arası ritim grubunun topluluk oluşumunun sınırlamaları vardır. Grupta bağlanma ve bağlar gözlenmesine rağmen. Çocukların devamsızlığı vardı. Sürekli, aralıklı ve ziyaretçi-katılımcı olmak üzere üç tür çocuk katılımcı vardır. Çiğdem Mahallesi'nin topluluk oluşumunun gösterdiği gibi, sınıflar arası ritim grubunun topluluk oluşturması için kuruluşa ihtiyaç vardır.

Bu çalışma, topluluk oluşumlarını tam boyutlu olarak inceleyerek, neoliberal kentsel dönüşüm ile ortaya çıkan kopuk, dağınık, parçalı yapıda değişen topluluk formülasyonlarının altını çizmektedir. Daha geçirdiğim 8 ay boyunca, birebir deneyim ve gözlemlerim ile temelleri atılan bu çalışmanın, sosyal-ekonomik açıdan oldukça iki farklı sosyal oluşumun yan yanlığında topluluk oluşumlarını değerlendirdim. Bu yan yanlık ile ortaya çıkan çatışmaların bu topluluk oluşumu üzerindeki etkilerini de aktörler arası etkileşimleri analiz ederek yorumladım. Bu çalışma, sınıflar arası grubun bir topluluğa dönüşmemesi probleminin altında iki büyük neden görmüştür. Birincisi, bu pratiklerin sürdürülebilir buluşmalar olmaması ve ikincisi de bağımsız kuruluş

yoksunluğu olarak belirlenmiştir. Stavrides' in 2011 yılında yayımlanan "Müşterek Mekanlar" adlı çalışmasında yürüttüğü tartışmaları dikkate alarak sürdürülebilir buluşmaların yapılamamasının en büyük nedeni de bu müşterek pratiklerin deneyimleneceği "müşterek mekanların" olmaması olabilir mi? Topluluk oluşumunda özellikle sınıflar-arası topluluk oluşumlarında müşterek mekanların rolü nedir? Benzer bir şekilde bu çalışmada kentsel dönüşüm sürecinde topluluk oluşumu ancak bir kuruluşla mümkün olacağı iddiası ile sonlanmıştır. Peki sınıflar-arası bir topluluk oluşumunun hangi niteliklerde bir kuruluşla ihtiyacı vardır.

Son olarak, bu çalışma beni derinden etkileyen bir deneyimin akademik alanda karşılığını bulmak için yaptığım bir çalışmadır. Dünyadaki eşitsizlikler, kentlerimizde çok acı bir şekilde kendini göstermektedir. Sokakta görmeye alıştığımız fakat bakmadığımız birçok yaşam sistemin yarattığı dengesiz, adaletsiz yaşam koşullarından dolayı ızdırap çekiyorlar. Sisteme rağmen nasıl başka bir deneyim, bir pratik bir olasılık yaratılır mı merakı bu çalışma kapsamında yereldeki örgütlenmeye son zamanlarda çok önem arz eden sivil toplum örgütleri ve çalışanları bir Mahalle örgütünün pratiklerinde aranmaya çalışılmıştır. Fakat çatışmanın bir tarafı olan bu Mahalle örgütü kendine taktığı iyi ve yardımsever, eşitlikçi bir kurum imajından daha ileriye gidememiştir. Daha bağımsız, sınıflar arası pratikleri bir araya getiren veya getirmeye çalışılan ritim grubu ÇiğdeMİM'e olan bağımlılıkları, bu grup için oluşturulabilecek imkanlarda kısıtlılık oluşturmuştur. Ortak mekân yoksunluğunun sınıflar arası ritim grubunun bir topluluğa dönüşmemesi ve örgütlenmemesinde etkisi olup olmadığı ileriki araştırmalara yön vermesi açısından önemli bir soru olarak ileriki çalışmalara hizmet etmektedir.

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